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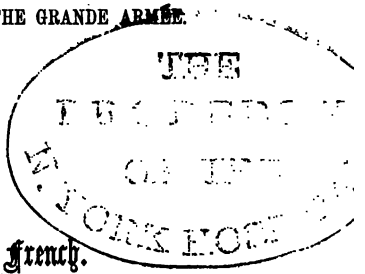
MEMOIR

OF

BARON LARREY,

SURGEON-IN-CHIEF OF THE GRANDE ARMÉE.



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TO THE

OFFICERS OF THE ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

AND TO THE

MEMBERS GENERALLY OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION,

THIS ENGLISH VERSION OF THE

LIFE OF THE CHIRURGIEN-EN-CHEF DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE,

BARON LARREY,

Is Dedicated with much respect by

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Larrey—Education—Profession . pp. 1—5

CHAPTER II.

FIRST CAMPAIGN WITH THE ARMY OF THE RHINE.

Larrey joins the Army of the Rhine—He observes the inconvenience of the French ambulances, and invents the *ambulances volantes*—Marriage of Larrey . pp. 6—9

CHAPTER III.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SPAIN.

Larrey's short service during the war in Spain—His

appointment to the Army of Italy—His visit to Venice during its downfall—His interview with Napoleon . . . . . pp. 10—15

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

Success of Larrey in obtaining eight hundred well qualified Staff-surgeons for this expedition—Surrender of Malta to the French arms—Capture of Alexandria by the army of Napoleon—Larrey, in acknowledgment of his ability as a medical officer, receives a Damascus sword from General Buonaparte—Cairo taken possession of by the French—Ophthalmia of Egypt—Death of two French surgeons in defending the hospitals against Turkish fanatics—Representations of surgical instruments on the bas-reliefs of temples, and respect of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians for the science of medicine—Visit of Buonaparte to the source of the Moïse—Ravages of the plague—Unsuccessful siege of St. Jean d'Acre—The khamsyn—Return of General Buonaparte to France—Spread of liver-complaint, leprosy, and elephantiasis amongst the French troops under General Kleber—Landing of the English at Aboukir—Conduct of Larrey at the battle of Alexandria on the 21st, in placing a wounded French general beyond the pursuit of the English cavalry—Return of Larrey to France—He is

appointed Inspector of Hospitals and decorated with the Legion of Honour . . . . . pp. 16—49

CHAPTER V.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF AUSTRIA.

Larrey takes medical charge of the army assembled at Boulogne for the purpose of invading England—Frustration of the attempt by the destruction of the French and Spanish fleets—Napoleon enters Germany—His army takes Ulm and Vienna, and also gains the battle of Austerlitz—Peace of Pressburg—Great mortality caused by typhus among the French, Austrian, and Russian wounded . . . . . pp. 50—59

CHAPTER VI.

CAMPAIGNS OF SAXONY AND OF PRUSSIA.

Entry of the French into Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Intrepidity of Larrey—Napoleon's appreciation of medical officers—Combat of Heilsberg—Battle of Friedland—Suspension of arms—Interview of the Emperor of France with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia—Treaty of Tilsit . . . . . pp. 60—78

CHAPTER VII.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF SPAIN.

Insurrection at Madrid—Larrey's gallant defence of the French wounded against an infuriated populace—Prevalence of gangrene and colic—Siege of Saragossa—Entry of the English into the province of Zamora—Their retreat to Corunna, and the death of their general, Sir John Moore—The Imperial Guard returns to France, but the English prisoners of war are so severely wounded that Larrey remains behind in hope of effecting their recovery—He contracts the fever under which many of the wounded are labouring, but after being delirious, he is restored to health by his pupil and relative, Augustus Larrey . . pp. 79—88

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF AUSTRIA.

Battle of Eslingen—Death of Marshal Lannes—Passage of the Danube by the French near the Island of Lobau—Battle of Wagram—The chief honour of the victory due to Marshal Macdonald—Large number of wounded at Wagram — Larrey's remarks on the utility of immediate amputations—His elevation to

the dignity of Baron of the Empire—Surrender of Vienna and conclusion of peace . . . pp. 89—100

CHAPTER IX.

CAMPAIGN OF RUSSIA.

Larrey arrives at Erfurt and at Berlin, at which latter place he delivers a course of lectures on Surgery—Passage of the river Niemen by the army of Napoleon—Violent thunderstorm at the opening of the campaign—Arrival of the Grand Army at Vitepsk—Capture of Smolensk—Arrival of the French army at Wiasma—Disappointment of the French at finding every town a prey to flames and bereft of supplies—Able and orderly retreat of General Barclay de Tolly—Battle of Moskowa—Large number of wounded, and efforts of the medical officers under Larrey for their relief, amid the deficiency of lint and splints and other requisites—Arrival of the Grand Army at Moscow—Description of that city—Conflagration of Moscow—Aspect of the city after the fire—Napoleon abandons Moscow—He attempts to retreat by Kalouga, and through districts where he might find supplies for his large army—The attempt is frustrated by the Russian General Kutusoff, who forces Napoleon to return by the old Smolensk road, and

through those provinces the resources of which had lately been consumed by war — The French reach Mojaïsk—Generous conduct of Larrey towards the Russian wounded—Increased severity of the weather, and diminished supply of provisions—Battle of Krasnoé—Critical state of Napoleon at Orscha—Passage of the Bérésina—Heroic and humane conduct of Larrey on its banks—Arrival of the French at Ochmiana—Their sufferings from intense cold—Arrival at Wilna—Conduct of the Jews of that city towards the wounded — Arrival of the French at Gumbinen—Observation of Larrey that the soldiers who were natives of the South of France or of Italy, better resisted the action of cold in the Russian campaign than those who were born in the North of Europe . . . . . pp. 101—176

CHAPTER X.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF SAXONY.

Larrey joins the head-quarters of the French army at Lutzen a few days before the battle which bears its name—Napoleon's admiration of the heroism displayed at Lutzen by young soldiers who had just quitted agricultural and commercial pursuits—Battle of Bautzen—Mortal wound of Marshal Duroc, and his last

words to Larrey—Satisfactory report of Larrey to Napoleon on the subject of some imputations cast on the wounded conscripts of the French army—Battle of Dresden—Battle of Leipzig—Narrow escape of Larrey about the time of the premature blowing up of the bridge over the Essler—Almost incessant hardships and dangers incurred by the French army in its retreat from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Rhine—Prevalence of typhus fever among the French on their arrival at Mayence . . . . . pp. 177—204

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN OF FRANCE.

Battle of Montereau—Defection of some of Napoleon's generals—Indefatigable exertions of the medical officers in the field hospital at Craonney—Humane conduct of Larrey and the officers of his department to the Russian wounded in the hospital at Soissons—The French army at St. Dizier—Farewell address of Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and urgent request of Larrey to be allowed to accompany him to Elba—Return of Napoleon from Elba—Disbelief of the generals of the Allied Army in the advance of Napoleon—Delay in the transmission of an important note from an officer in the British Intelligence Department—Battle of Waterloo—

through those provinces the resources of which had lately been consumed by war — The French reach Mojaïsk—Generous conduct of Larrey towards the Russian wounded—Increased severity of the weather, and diminished supply of provisions—Battle of Krasnoé—Critical state of Napoleon at Orscha—Passage of the Bérésina—Heroic and humane conduct of Larrey on its banks—Arrival of the French at Ochmiana—Their sufferings from intense cold—Arrival at Wilna—Conduct of the Jews of that city towards the wounded — Arrival of the French at Gumbinen—Observation of Larrey that the soldiers who were natives of the South of France or of Italy, better resisted the action of cold in the Russian campaign than those who were born in the North of Europe . . . . . pp. 101—176

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Larrey joins the head-quarters of the French army at Lutzen a few days before the battle which bears its name—Napoleon's admiration of the heroism displayed at Lutzen by young soldiers who had just quitted agricultural and commercial pursuits—Battle of Bautzen—Mortal wound of Marshal Duroc, and his last

words to Larrey—Satisfactory report of Larrey to Napoleon on the subject of some imputations cast on the wounded conscripts of the French army—Battle of Dresden—Battle of Leipzig—Narrow escape of Larrey about the time of the premature blowing up of the bridge over the Essler—Almost incessant hardships and dangers incurred by the French army in its retreat from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Rhine—Prevalence of typhus fever among the French on their arrival at Mayence . . . . . pp. 177—204

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Battle of Montereau—Defection of some of Napoleon's generals—Indefatigable exertions of the medical officers in the field hospital at Craonney—Humane conduct of Larrey and the officers of his department to the Russian wounded in the hospital at Soissons—The French army at St. Dizier—Farewell address of Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and urgent request of Larrey to be allowed to accompany him to Elba—Return of Napoleon from Elba—Disbelief of the generals of the Allied Army in the advance of Napoleon—Delay in the transmission of an important note from an officer in the British Intelligence Department—Battle of Waterloo—

Larrey disobeys the order of *Sauve qui peut*, and is taken prisoner by the Prussians—Dangerous situation of Larrey—He is set at liberty by Blücher—Gratitude of the Prussian marshal to Larrey for having saved the life of his son in the campaign of Austria . pp. 205—233

CHAPTER XII.

LARREY UNDER THE RESTORATION AND UNDER THE REIGN OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Journey of Larrey to England—Conduct of Larrey during the three days of July, 1830—He is despatched by the French Minister of War to Belgium and to Italy—Return of the ashes of Napoleon, and Larrey's tribute of respect to the memory of his great chief . pp. 234—245

CHAPTER XIII.

LARREY'S INSPECTION OF THE HOSPITALS IN ALGERIA.

Arrival in Algeria—Inspection of the hospitals of Algiers, Oran, Philippeville, and Constantine—Disembarkation at Toulon of Larrey with inflammation of the chest—His death at Lyons—His funeral obsequies—His

literary works—Engraving of the name of Larrey on the Arc-de-Triomphe—Statue in bronze raised to his memory—Legacy of Napoleon, and his final judgment on the merits of his Surgeon-in-Chief, Baron Larrey . . . . . pp. 246—25

MEMOIR

OF

BARON LARREY.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Larrey—Education—Profession.

THERE are men who become the glory of their age. Their country is proud to count them among the number of her children, and their contemporaries, in advance of the judgment of posterity, have not praise enough to bestow on their shining actions. Their way of life is a constant instructor, while in their way from life to death there is that indescribable calmness which characterizes the end of the just. Such was Larrey.

While but a youthful surgeon he was

acting a benevolent part in the great drama of our civil discords. Even in early youth he was ready to follow our armies to the frontier, just as if Providence had opportunely made him spring up as a surgeon for relieving the thousands of wounded which the great conflict of the Revolution was about to produce.

Larrey devoted himself to his country. Thus he served in marvellous campaigns in the suite of the hero who held in his hands the destinies of France. Thus also it came to pass that from the borders of the Nile to the banks of the Danube, from the camp of Boulogne to that of Austerlitz, from Leipzig to Waterloo, Larrey was present in all the most bloody battles of modern times. Larrey, however, as a military surgeon, sought all these dangers of war for no other purpose but to mitigate its evils.

It is often said that the military surgeon is a non-combatant. It is hardly necessary to remark that the chief object of the surgeon is to heal the wounds of combatants. This was

truly the aim of Larrey. Conquerors and conquered, Marshals of the Empire, officers and private soldiers, all have met him in the hottest fire. Amid the tempest of bullets, and the bursting of shells, the French surgeon Larrey has been seen calm, intrepid, and also prodigal in the resources of a surgical skill which was incomparable. Non-combatant as Larrey professionally was against men, yet his life might be aptly designated a long combat against death.

Jean-Dominique Larrey was born in 1776 at Baudéan, a village situated on the borders of the Adour and at the feet of the Hautes Pyrénées. Thus it happened that the English and French Directors-General of the Army Medical Department, who entered the service of their respective countries about the beginning of the French Revolutionary War, were both natives of mountainous districts. In short, Larrey was born near the Pyrénées in France, while Sir James McGrigor was born amid the mountainous districts of Inverness-shire in Scotland. But to return to Larrey: he lost

his father at the age of thirteen years. He then quitted his native village for Toulouse. Here he studied under the direction of his uncle, Alexis Larrey, who was Surgeon Major and Professor at the Hospital of Grave and Corresponding Associate of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris. So young an orphan as Larrey then was, he had need of consolation. However, the welcome of his uncle soothed his grief. That Christian and accomplished surgeon Alexis Larrey made use of the following words: "Welcome, my young friend; my house is thine. I will try to replace the tender father whose loss you bewail, and you shall be my adopted son." Truly the medical profession, while it almost always improves the mind of its follower, never steels nor hardens the heart.

After six years of diligent study at Toulouse, Larrey went to Paris. Soon after his arrival there he was appointed Assistant Surgeon in the French navy. He proceeded to Brest, and there embarked in the sloop "La Vigilante." Soon afterwards he was nearly shipwrecked.

He was again in Paris at the beginning of the severe winter of 1789. That was an eventful time. Larrey was an eye-witness of the early troubles of the Revolution, and had occasion to take care of the first victims of those sad days at the Hôtel Dieu, under the orders of the surgeon Desault. It was in that vast hospital and at the Hôtel Royal des Invalides that Larrey acquired knowledge sound enough to enable him to serve with *éclat*, three years later, in the army of the Rhine, under the command of Marshal Luckner.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST CAMPAIGN WITH THE ARMY OF THE RHINE.

Larrey joins the Army of the Rhine—He observes the Inconvenience of the French Ambulances, and invents the *Ambulances Volantes*—Marriage of Larrey.

On the 1st of April, 1792, Larrey joined the head quarters of the army at Strasbourg. He was soon afterwards appointed Medical Chief of Kellermann's division. However, when the campaign opened, Custine had charge of this division. This general made himself master of Spire, and here it was that Larrey first became sensible of the inconveniences of the French ambulances as they were constructed about seventy years since.

According to the regulations, these ambulances were obliged to remain about a league

from the army, while the wounded were also obliged to remain on the field of battle until after the combat. It was only after this delay that they were able to receive the greater part of the surgeon's aid. Larrey was under the necessity of leaving the unwieldy ambulances at Spire and following the army of Custine, who was extremely rapid in his movements.

Under the victorious banners of that general, Larrey was depressed and mournful at the sight of the privations to which the wounded were exposed. He became author of a measure for giving them speedy succour. This invention of Larrey was a kind of carriage hung on springs, uniting great strength and solidity with lightness. Such indeed was its lightness, that it was able to follow all the movements of the advanced guard with as much speed as flying artillery. These *ambulances volantes*, as they were called, were first used by the French in a defile of the Rhine near Königstein. Here the ambulances invented by the talented and benevolent French surgeon bore the wounded rapidly away from the neighbour-

hood of the enemy instead of leaving them either to die or to sustain a protracted agony on the field of battle. In a subsequent despatch, written by General Beauharnais to the Convention, both the advantages of these flying ambulances and the merits of Larrey were especially mentioned in the following words: "I ought not to omit mentioning the names of the Adjutant-General Bailly, Abbatouchi of the Artillery, and the Surgeon-Major Larrey and his comrades with flying ambulances, whose indefatigable care in the healing of the wounded has diminished those afflicting results to humanity which have generally been inseparable from days of victory, and has essentially served the cause of humanity itself in preserving the brave defenders of our country." Larrey, however, besides being wounded in the leg about this time, had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Soon after the time of Larrey being wounded, the army of the Rhine was united to that of the Moselle, and placed under the command of General Hoche. The advanced guard was un-

der the orders of Desaix, and to the ambulance corps of this division of the army Larrey was attached. While the army went into winter-quarters, Larrey was sent by the generals and the representatives of the people to Paris in order that he might superintend the construction of *ambulances volantes* for all the armies of the Republic. But hardly had he arrived at Paris, when he received the appointment of Surgeon-in-Chief of the Army of Corsica and the order to proceed to Toulon. However, during his short stay in Paris he was married to Charlotte Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Laville-Leroux, Minister of Finance under Louis XVI. Soon after the marriage, Larrey journeyed to Toulon. Here he intrusted his wife to the care of some of his relatives, and then presented himself to the chiefs of the French army, among whom was the General Napoleon.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF SPAIN.

Larrey's short Service during the War in Spain—His Appointment to the Army of Italy—His Visit to Venice during its Downfall—His Interview with Napoleon.

As the number of English cruisers which were watching the port of Toulon rendered it very hazardous for the French army to go to sea there, Larrey went by land to Nice. He then served during the short war in the eastern part of Spain. In the year 1797 he was ordered to join the army in Italy, chiefly for the purpose of organizing the *ambulances volantes*. He left Paris on the 1st of May, and arrived in Italy about the time of the signature of the preliminaries of peace.

Not many treaties have been more important in modern days than the treaty which

proclaimed the downfall of Venice, and terminated the power of the last of one hundred and twenty-two Doges. Larrey travelled through the territory of Venezia, and was eye-witness of the spoliation of some of the external glories of Venice. He saw taken down from the top of one of the columns of the Place St. Marc the lion which afterwards adorned the fountain of the esplanade of the Invalides at Paris. He was also eye-witness of the surrender of the famous horses of Corinth, which surmounted the front of the Cathedral, and which more lately adorned the Arc-de-Triomphe of the Place du Carrousel. Larrey, however, was much occupied in professional labours at Venice, and especially in organizing the Service de Santé of the expedition then being fitted out against Corfu. It is here worthy of remark, that one of the most celebrated of modern historians, Carlo Botta, who had entered the French service as a medical officer in 1794, was present in Venice in 1797, and that he proceeded from thence to Corfu in his professional capacity with the French army. Carlo Botta,

who has so well written the history of modern Italy and also the War of Independence in America, had a sort of hereditary claim to ability, if such be hereditary, inasmuch as he was almost descended from a family of doctors.

As this talented historian was in 1797 one of the young surgeons who passed under the eye of Larrey before embarking at Venice for Corfu, perhaps this digression is allowable.

From Venice Larrey proceeded to Milan, where he occupied himself much with the subject of the *ambulances volantes*. The following is a description of the *cadre de l'ambulance volante* which was originated by Larrey. The number of persons attached to it was to be about 340 individuals, including officers, sub-officers, and soldiers. For each division the number of light carriages was twelve and of heavy four. These carriages, of two and four wheels and on easy springs, were furnished with mattresses for the purpose of receiving the wounded, whom they went to seek on the field while the battle was raging, and whom they transported immediately to the

hospitals of the first line. These ambulances were equally destined to lift up the dead and enable them to be laid out.

Larrey established a school of surgery at Milan. He then joined the quarters of the advanced guard commanded by Bernadotte, for the purpose of inspecting the hospitals, of examining the medical officers, and also of arresting the progress of a fearful epidemic. After accomplishing these labours, Larrey made a journey to Trieste with General Desaix.

These two officers, Larrey and Desaix, had commenced their friendship in the campaigns of the army of the Rhine. They were both distinguished by courage, talents, and many amiable qualities. In this journey to Trieste, Larrey had many opportunities of admiring the modesty and moderation of the French general. The latter preserved a strict *incognito* throughout the journey. As he had never before been in a seaport town, he examined with a natural feeling of interest and of curiosity the Spanish frigates which were lying in the harbour of Trieste. He visited also

with the greatest attention the magazines and arsenals. The French medical officer and French general dined at the *table d'hôte* of the hotel along with a numerous company of generals and staff officers of Austria, who were quartered in the district of Trieste. With some amount of affectation the Austrians praised before Desaix and Larrey, whose names were unknown to them, the French military, and above all, the French generals who were distinguished in the campaigns of Italy. After a just tribute to the talents of Buonaparte, the conversation turned on the illustrious defender of Kell, General Desaix. The silence which the two guests preserved, above all the little interest which General Desaix took in the conversation, was about to become the cause of a disagreeable discussion, when Larrey rose from the table, dragging away with him his companion, who was happy in having deceived all the guests of the *table d'hôte*.

Larrey quitted Trieste to repair to Udine. The treaty of peace of Campo Formio having been signed, Desaix returned to France. Buo-

naparte, however, remained both to inspect his own army and also the new frontiers caused by the partition or spoliation of Venezia. Buonaparte then displayed a most lively interest in examining the first division of the *ambulances volantes* attached to the advanced guard of the army, which was under the command of General Bernadotte. He caused it to manœuvre before him with all its staff, just as if it was on the field of battle. Buonaparte then testified his approbation of these flying ambulances which the talented and benevolent Larrey had invented for the purpose of saving human life and economizing soldiers, in the following words: "Your work is one of the most happy conceptions of our age; it will suffice for your reputation." Buonaparte saw also the second division of this ambulance corps at Padua. Larrey, meanwhile, proceeded with his inspection of the hospitals, first at Venice and next at Padua. At this last place he paid his respects to the celebrated Professors Spallanzani and Scarpa, and soon afterwards he returned to Paris.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

Success of Larrey in obtaining Eight Hundred well-qualified Staff-Surgeons for this Expedition—Surrender of Malta to the French Arms—Capture of Alexandria by the Army of Napoleon—Larrey, in Acknowledgment of his Ability as a Medical Officer, receives a Damascus Sword from General Buonaparte—Cairo taken Possession of by the French—Ophthalmia of Egypt—Death of two French Surgeons in defending the Hospitals against Turkish Fanatics—Representations of Surgical Instruments on the Bas-reliefs of Temples, and Respect of the Ancient Greeks and Egyptians for the Science of Medicine—Visit of Buonaparte to the Source of the Moïse—Ravages of the Plague—Unsuccessful Siege of St. Jean d'Acre — the Khamsyn — Return of General Buonaparte to France — Spread of Liver-complaint, Leprosy, and Elephantiasis amongst the French Troops under General Kleber—Landing of the English at Aboukir — Conduct of Larrey at the Battle of Alexandria in placing a wounded French General

beyond the Pursuit of the English Cavalry—Return of Larrey to France—He is appointed Inspector of Hospitals, and decorated with the Legion of Honour.

Soon after the arrival of Larrey in Paris, he received the order to repair to Toulon, as Surgeon-in-Chief of an expedition. He learnt at a later period that this expedition would be directed against Egypt. It was to be commanded by the young hero who had conquered for France some of the finest provinces of Italy. Larrey proceeded instantly to Toulon, where he collected all the requisite material and organized all the medical staff which might be needful for a large army.

In this medical arrangement Larrey took especial care to assemble the requisite number of ambulances. He was successful in obtaining surgeons from the schools of medicine of Toulouse and Montpellier. So readily did professional men respond to the call made by Larrey, that he was able soon to reckon on about eight hundred well-qualified surgeons, of whom many had served in the army of Italy. These constituted the medical staff of

the French army, as each regiment was provided with its own habitual medical officers. The *Médecin-en-chef*, Desgenettes, aided Larrey in procuring lint, splints, and a variety of articles which might be useful in wounds or in sickness, for the projected expedition.

On the 19th of May, 1798, all the vessels quitted Toulon amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants, and in about three weeks anchored before Malta. They had been joined by smaller fleets from Genoa, from the island of Corsica, and from Civita Vecchia. The force, therefore, was large, and the island of Malta soon surrendered. The French set sail from Malta on the 18th of June, and in about twelve days appeared in front of Alexandria. Larrey, who during the route suspected that this was the object of the expedition, had diligently studied the best accounts of the climate of Egypt for the purpose of giving instructions and issuing regulations to all his subordinates.

The disembarkation at Alexandria was made with great rapidity. Ten thousand

men marched immediately on the town, which was taken after some hours of combat. Three divisions of ambulances had been organized, one for each wing of the army and one for the centre. The third of these divisions, placed under the immediate orders of Larrey, as Surgeon-in-chief, and near to General Buonaparte, distributed succour to the centre and to the staff. In this action two hundred and fifty men were wounded. Among them were the Generals of Division, Kleber and Menou, and the Adjutant-General Lescale.

The wounded were well taken care of in a convent of Capuchin friars. The wounds of Kleber were so well treated by Antoine Dubois, that in a short time he was quite cured, and was enabled to take the command of Alexandria while Buonaparte proceeded to Cairo. A short time afterwards General Figuières was severely wounded. By able treatment he recovered, and in gratitude for the preservation of his life, he asked Buonaparte to accept a valuable Damascus sword. That illustrious general answered, "Yes, I

accept it in order to make a present of it to the Surgeon-in-Chief, by whose exertions your life has been preserved." This sabre, the precious gift of a general who knew how to appreciate the merits of soldier-surgeons, had on it engraved the words "Aboukir and Larrey." This memorial of Larrey's merit, for such it may be designated, was possessed by him until the fatal battle of Waterloo.

The advanced guard under the order of Desaix repaired to Rosetta, at which place, only a year or two later, Sir James McGrigor, when acting as medical chief in the army of Sir David Baird, established a plague hospital. The French army marched through the same deserts as the Anglo-Egyptian army of Sir David Baird, and encountered similar hardships. The French, marching over sands almost burning in their heat, so unlike that snowy retreat in which Larrey afterwards accompanied the army from Moscow, were here parched with thirst, weakened by fatigue, and tantalized by the deceitful effects of a mirage which presented apparently to their eyes ver-

dant plains shaded by wide-spreading trees and streaked by limpid streams. These visions seemed to retreat before them as they advanced, so that the French first hoped and then despaired; while the soul grew sick and the body exhausted. Many of them here died, in spite of the arduous exertions of the French surgeons. Yet while life was ebbing, hope seemed to brighten the face of the poor patient as he gazed on the benevolent and zealous medical officer with a joy which was inexpressible. While the French were suffering from the fatigues of marching and the effects of thirst under the sky of Egypt, thousands of Arabs occasionally hovered round them as their prey. One day Larrey and his wounded were suddenly assailed by a cloud of Mameluke horsemen, and would have been sacrificed to their fury, if they had not been rescued from this danger by General Desaix's division.

About the 25th of July, 1798, Buonaparte took possession of Cairo; in which great city Larrey found every requisite for the organiza-

tion of hospitals. Sir James McGrigor had the same good fortune not long afterwards, when he accompanied the expedition under command of Sir David Baird from Bombay to Alexandria. The English and French armies were both afflicted with ophthalmia, and it was at Cairo that this disease, which is so frequent in Egypt, first displayed itself in the army of Buonaparte. Larrey there adopted a treatment which was so successful, that among three thousand soldiers who were afflicted with ophthalmia, not one lost his eyesight. Bleeding in the neck, application of leeches to the temple, and baths for the feet, along with the use of boiling decoctions of emollient substances for the parts affected, all combined at discretion with purgatives and bitters, constituted the remedy which Larrey ordered to be used in the French army for the cure of ophthalmia. Larrey has been known to state that the same treatment was adopted in the English army under Sir David Baird in Egypt, at the suggestion of Sir James McGrigor, and that it was found successful.

On the 21st of October, 1798, a serious revolt was occasioned by the fanatical Turks in Cairo. Two French staff-surgeons, Roussel and Monjin, while defending the entrance of the hospital, which was crowded with sick and wounded soldiers, were unfortunately killed, and Larrey nearly shared the same fate. Many of the insurgents shut themselves in one of the principal mosques of Cairo, and there defended themselves with obstinate bravery for twenty-four hours. It was not until cannon and howitzers were brought to bear against the mosque that the insurgents surrendered. Forty French soldiers were wounded in this affair, and several of these died afterwards of tetanus. During his *séjour* in Egypt Larrey had frequent occasion to remark this formidable disease. The remedy which he directed to be used was the extract of opium combined with camphor and the nitrate of purified potash. The salt thus obtained was dissolved in a small quantity of emulsion made with cold seeds, perhaps seeds of cucumber or of melon, or with bitter almonds. He amputated the

limb when a wound of the extremities was the cause of tetanus.

In achieving at that time the conquest of Upper Egypt, Desaix gave to the *savans* who formed the commission of arts in Egypt an opportunity to visit the ruins of the famous city of Thebes with its hundred gates, and also the renowned temples of Tentyra, of Karnak, and of Luxor. Among them was Denon, who on his return to Paris published his "Voyage dans la basse et dans la haute Egypte," and subsequently a description of Egypt. In this work the description is graphic and the plates are truthful. Thus did the great Buonaparte not only increase the brilliancy of the French arms, but he rendered that brilliancy enduring and memorable by uniting with it the acquisitions of science.

Larrey observed with no small interest in the Egyptian temples the bas-reliefs representing surgical instruments very nearly resembling those which are used in France and other countries of Europe in the present day. This need, however, excite no great surprise, inas-

much as Herodotus and other authentic writers state that medicine was well understood among the ancient Egyptians. So great was the subdivision of labour in the profession, that there were, so states Herodotus, physicians not only for the eyes and for the teeth, but also for the head, and separately for many of the numerous diseases which do not exhibit outward symptoms. The Greeks borrowed and improved the medical science of Egypt. It was in the Egyptian city of Alexandria, founded by Greeks, that anatomy was first studied. Therefore, when it is borne in mind how assiduously and successfully medicine in its various branches was cultivated in Egypt, it is not at all surprising that the bas-reliefs in the temples of that land of early civilization should exhibit representations of instruments in surgery.

On the 22nd of December Larrey received orders from Buonaparte to accompany him to Suez. The march of the French across the immense and arid plain lasted three days. The route was dreary, as there was no indication of vegetation except a solitary tree, nor of human

beings except numerous skeletons. Larrey describes the cold during the night as being so great that it was impossible to bear it without moving. Fortunately the idea occurred to them of collecting in a heap the bones of the dead, which occasionally strewed the desert, and setting them on fire. If the soldiers of France could thus feel the cold in Egypt, it is not at all surprising that the sepoys in the Anglo-Indian army should, as described by Sir James McGrigor in his "Medical Sketches of the Campaign in Egypt," have been induced to relax some of the austerities of their Budhist faith, by partaking of animal food in approaching the cold shores of the Mediterranean.

Buonaparte took possession of the town of Suez, and wished to pass into Asia for the purpose of visiting the sources of the Moïse and of reconnoitring the Eastern bank of the Red Sea on the side of the Mountains of Torn. For the purpose of abridging the route, Buonaparte and those who accompanied him traversed the sea in front of Suez at the

moment of low water. They were preceded by two guides mounted on dromedaries. The horses, in spite of the water in which they were plunged up to the chest, traversed easily this little arm of the sea, the breadth of which was about five kilomètres. According to tradition, it was the strait where Moses, when pursued by the army of Pharaoh, traversed the sea with the Hebrews. In former days, however, the waters of the northern part of the Red Sea were far deeper and broader than they are at present. After some hours of passage through the midst of moving sands, they reached the sources of the Moïse, so celebrated in the days of antiquity, and they returned to Suez during the night. Some returned by land, while others, at some risk of being drowned, returned by water. Buonaparte, during the following days, visited the traces of the ancient canal which established a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, and followed those traces up to the present town of Tineh, once the celebrated Pelusium, and the key of Egypt. What changes does time make

among dynasties and empires, nations and cities, even sea and land! Among works which have survived the power of those nations which achieved them may be mentioned a great reservoir at the foot of Mount Sinai, which was constructed by the Venetians in the sixteenth century. Buonaparte, along with many French officers, visited the reservoir; but in recrossing to the African side they all wandered from the right path while the tide was flowing, and were thus exposed to the most imminent danger. "Had I perished in that manner," said Napoleon, "it would have furnished all the preachers in Christendom with a magnificent text against me."*

Soon after his return to Cairo, Larrey exerted every means in his power to improve the state of the hospitals. Unfortunately a horrible malady, the plague, broke out at this time

* Some officers of Sir David Baird's army, including its medical chief, Sir James McGrigor, nearly lost their lives in the same manner in crossing the sands of the Red Sea during flood tide, between Moses's Well and the town of Suez.—*Vide* "Autobiography of Sir James McGrigor," pp. 129, 130.

at Alexandria, at Damietta, and at Mansoura. It was characterized by buboes or carbuncular abscesses in the groin and in the armpits. About a year later Sir James McGrigor, while quartered at Alexandria, first observed a soldier who had buboes both in the groin and about the neck. Both these medical chiefs have left behind them tracts on the subject of the plague, Larrey, in his work entitled "Relations historiques et chirurgicales de l'Expédition de l'Armée de l'Orient," and Sir James McGrigor, in his work entitled "Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt."

Soon afterwards Larrey accompanied Buonaparte in his Syrian campaign. At El-Arisch the advanced guard, under the orders of General Reynier, had a serious engagement with the enemy, in which about 300 French were wounded. Their wounds, however, although severe, were all healed. Yet there was a want of butcher's meat to make soup or broth for the patients. Larrey directed a certain quantity of camels' meat to be used for that purpose;

and when this could no longer be obtained, he directed the soup to be made with horseflesh. With this flesh of horses they were able to make soup or broth substantial enough for the sick and wounded. Soup made of horseflesh, be it not mentioned among the wealthy and the luxurious, was good and nourishing. By such a restorative, when butcher's meat could not be obtained, were the lives of hundreds of brave men preserved.

On the 28th of February Buonaparte arrived before El-Arisch, which he battered with his artillery until the garrison capitulated. Larrey then visited the fort in hope to find a convenient place for the French wounded. Unexpectedly he discovered in a subterraneous passage or cavern a great number of the enemy, all more or less wounded. Their wounds were gnawed or corroded with gangrene, and the open sores were full of vermin. Plague, moreover, had made entrance into this den of misery. It was a fine field for the humane but daring spirit of Larrey—a field in which he might combat death and alleviate suffering.

He caused the wounds of all the sufferers to be dressed without delay. Moreover, he ordered the corpses of men and of animals, most of them in a state of putrefaction, to be dragged out, all the infected garments or other substances to be burnt, and the walls of every part of the fort to be washed with lime. Having thus metamorphosed a pesthouse into an abode of health, he directed the French sick and wounded to be removed to the fort, and to be placed under the care of Dr. Valet.

The army continued its march in the desert, and soon reached the Gates of Syria, which are no other than two columns of granite, indicating the separation of Africa from Asia. The day afterwards the French were in Palestine, and there they found the refreshment of which they were so much in need. At Ghaza they dispersed the Mamelukes of Ibrahim Bey, nor did they encounter any great resistance from the enemy until their arrival at Jaffa. The siege of that place was commenced on the 3rd of March, 1799. It was short, vigorous, and

sanguinary. The wounded were, by Larrey's direction, lodged in several convents. The troops were at the same time encamped outside the town of Jaffa, with express directions not to make use of any articles of Turkish clothing, because of the plague.

In the midst of his fatiguing exertions to check the spread of disease, to mitigate suffering, and to preserve life, Larrey could not refrain from admiring the beautiful situation of Jaffa, which is built on the summit of a hill not far from the sea. The town is encircled by gardens abounding in orange-trees, cedars, and a number of European fruit-trees. But if Jaffa be remarkable for its natural beauty, it is no less eminent for its historic interest. It is celebrated in sacred history as the place whence Jonah embarked 862 years before the birth of Christ. In profane history it was the scene of stirring events in the times of the Saracens and of the Crusaders. All this to a mind like that of Larrey might be interesting, but he was not allowed to remain long in Jaffa, for on the 15th of March, 1799, the French army took

the route for St. Jean d'Acre, where it arrived a few days afterwards, greatly fatigued. The French found the place surrounded by a double rampart, and fortified by a number of towers at certain intervals of space from each other. The situation of St. Jean d'Acre is almost that of an island. Three-fourths of its ramparts are bathed by the ocean, while the remainder of the ramparts is protected by a ditch. On the 21st of March trenches were opened, and soon afterwards an assault was attempted by the French, but it was fruitless. Two other assaults followed, but with no better result to the French arms. The plague, the bullet, and the sword each had its victims. The number of wounded was large, and among them was Beauharnais, the future viceroy of Italy. While standing near Buonaparte the skin of his forehead was torn by a bullet. The aide-de-camp of General Berthier, Arrighi, received a wound from a bullet on the side of his neck, which severed the external carotid artery. His life, however, like that of many others, was saved by the aid of prompt and

skilful surgery. Promptness and presence of mind on the part of non-combatants are indeed invaluable. In short, it is necessary in all campaigns that many of the surgeons should remain under fire, and render their aid to the wounded before hæmorrhage or any other unfortunate or fatal result has commenced. Thus the life of the military surgeon ought to be, and often is, a long combat against death.

The number of wounded in front of St. Jean d'Acre was at least 2000. Of these, such were the excellent arrangements of Baron Larrey, about 1200 were embarked at Jaffa for Europe, and nearly the whole of the remaining 800 were sent to Egypt, through the desert, which is not less than sixty miles in length, completely healed. Yet hardly were the toils of Larrey at an end with the wounded, when they recommenced with the sufferers from the plague, which, like a devouring flame stifled only for a time, again commenced its ravages. How praiseworthy were the efforts of the military surgeons! Undergoing all the fatigues

of the campaign in common with others, they had especially to struggle against disease, however severe might be the scourge. Fortunately, amid the ravages of the plague, Larrey was ably seconded by the zeal and courage of Desgenettes. Before quitting this subject, for the particulars of which any one may be referred to the treatises of Larrey and Sir James McGrigor, it may be interesting to remark, that while the plague was active there was an entire absence of other diseases. No sooner, however, did the plague begin to disappear than other diseases returned, especially at Cairo, where yellow fever usurped the place of plague.

The campaign of Egypt was one of the most trying in which Larrey accompanied the French armies. The heat of the climate, the marshy nature of the water, occasionally abounding in small leeches, the rays of the sun darting on the sand of the desert, and above all, the khamsyn, or wind of the south, caused among the soldiers a prostration of mind and body which the example and efforts of their officers could hardly enable them to overcome. The remarks

of the English medical chief, Sir James McGrigor, who, with Sir David Baird's army, traversed the same ground almost immediately afterwards, agree with Larrey's observations. The impregnated water, abundant with insect matter, in which the soldier tried to assuage his thirst, Sir James McGrigor found equalled in Walcheren. The khamsyn, however, or wind of the desert, was an evil which neither of them experienced elsewhere. The following description by the pen of the French traveller Volney has the merit of exactness :—

"One may compare the impression on our organs to that of a baker's oven at the moment of drawing out the bread. The sky, generally so clear, becomes troubled, the sun exchanges its brightness for a violet-coloured disk, and the air is surcharged with a thin, penetrating kind of dust. This wind, always light and rapid, is not at first very hot; but the longer it lasts, the more it increases in intensity. All living bodies recognise it quickly in the change which they experience. The lung, irritated by the presence of this air, is contracted, the

breathing becomes short and laborious, the skin is dry, the thirst is devouring, and the efforts to quench it by drinking seem all in vain. In vain does one search for anything refreshing. Even those substances which in some measure usually impart a feeling of coolness, mock or deceive the hand which touches them. Marble, metal, water, although the sun is veiled, are warm. In those moments the inhabitants of towns and villages shut themselves in their houses, and the people of the desert take refuge either in their tents or in pits hollowed in the earth, where they wait the end of that kind of tempest. Commonly it lasts two or three hours; if it continues longer, it becomes insupportable. Ill-luck is it to the traveller when such a wind as the khamsyn overtakes him in his route. Far from all refuge, he may have to undergo the effects of it even unto death. The danger exists above all on the commencement of the gusts; then its swiftness increases its heat up to the point of killing suddenly. This death is in truth suffocation; the circulation is deranged, and the

blood, charged by the last contractions of the heart, flows towards the head and breast. Thence arises the hæmorrhage by the nose or the mouth, either at the instant of dying or after death. This wind fatally attacks, above all, those in whom fatigue has broken the elasticity of the muscles and of the vessels. The corpses are swollen prodigiously, and are very soon putrid. One may moderate the effects a little in covering the face partially, or in putting the nose in the sand until the end of the tempest, which ordinarily lasts two or three hours. The khamsyn shrivels the skin, pumps with rapidity the watery emanations of animals, shuts the pores, and causes that feverish heat which accompanies all suppressed perspiration."

In the summer of 1799, on their way to Salhieh, the French suffered much from the khamsyn. Larrey himself fell into a swoon, and with difficulty was restored. Many of the animals, especially the horses, were suffocated. The day of the march to Salhieh was, for many of the convalescents

from the plague, the last day of their earthly career. Many succumbed to the effects of the hot, swift, shrivelling, and suffocating blast of the khamsyn. The more fortunate began to be restored the moment that they caught a view of the fertile plains of Salhieh, shaded by the immense forests of palm-trees, or of the waters of the Nile, and began to breathe the purer air of its neighbourhood. The good nourishment which they also found there, completed this restoration.

Returning soon afterwards to Cairo, Larrey resumed the direction of the medical department of Egypt. Very soon Buonaparte received intelligence that an army of 20,000 Ottomans had disembarked at Aboukir. He directed himself immediately with his forces towards Alexandria. Larrey organized two great hospitals in the town, with all necessary apparatus for the healing of wounds. On the 25th of July, 1799, at sunrise, the French army carried the intrenchments of the enemy's camp. The Ottomans were put to rout, and the greater part of them, who fled towards the

shore of the river to embark in their vessels, were either sabred by the cavalry or perished in the sea. Ten thousand Mussulmen were killed, and their general-in-chief, Moustapha Pacha, was wounded and made prisoner. He received able and tender care under the directions of Larrey, and perfectly recovered from his wounds.

In this encounter with the enemy, and especially in the attack on the intrenched camp of the Ottoman army, the French had 800 men wounded, among whom were Lannes, Murat, and Bertrand. It was owing mainly to the promptness with which the surgeons performed their duties, and to the able use made of the *ambulances volantes*, that many of the wounded were speedily restored to health. However, among the 800 men thus wounded on the 25th of July, 1799, not less than forty amputations became necessary; but happily, all these amputations were performed successfully.

On the 22nd of August of the same year, Buonaparte embarked for France, entrusting

to General Kleber the command of the French army in Egypt. The Grand Vizier very soon afterwards poured an immense force on the Egyptian frontier. The French garrison of El-Arisch, deprived of the means of resistance and remote from aid, was obliged to capitulate. However, on the 29th of November Kleber marched against the Grand Vizier, whom he overtook near the village of Matarièh, and almost on the site of the ancient city of Heliopolis. The victory did not remain doubtful; the Grand Vizier took to flight, and a part of his troops soon afterwards perished of hunger and of thirst in the desert which separates Egypt from Syria.

The French were not a little surprised, on returning towards Cairo, to find that place in full insurrection. The avenues of approach were fortified by divers works and batteries, which were defended by 50,000 Mamelukes. An assault was attempted by the French, but without success. In this assault many of the French were killed, and about 200 of them were severely wounded. General Belliard re-

ceived a wound in the lower part of the stomach from a bullet, which completely traversed it. The wound was entirely healed on the twenty-eighth day of treatment. It may slightly remind the English reader of the wound received by the late Duke of Richmond in the stomach. There was, however, this difference between the two cases, that the ball forced its way out with General Belliard, while in the case of the no less gallant Englishman, it made such a lodgment that it could never be extracted. The Englishman retained this ball in the stomach from the year 1814 to the date of his death in 1860. Both, however, by the aid of skilful surgery, continued to enjoy good health long after they received wounds which at first seemed fatal.

The French at length overcame the insurgents in Cairo. No sooner, however, was the flame of insurrection extinguished in one place than it broke forth in another. The next scene was at Damietta, where a large body of Turkish troops effected a descent on the beach under the direction of the English Commodore, Sir

Sidney Smith, but they were dispersed by General Verdier's division. However, so many fatigues and privations under a burning sky excited liver-complaint, which degenerated into abscesses. Very desperate may appear the remedy which was then applied sometimes, in order to save life. It was no less than plunging a sharp instrument into the belly in order to give a free course to suppuration. Besides liver-complaint, the French army in Egypt suffered from leprosy, which many of the soldiers caught by sleeping on infected mattresses and eating unclean food. They also suffered from elephantiasis, so called perhaps from the enormous swelling of the lower extremities, calling to mind the leg and foot of the elephant, to which the patient is subject. The extremities are also covered with a blackish crust. Larrey, who saw only too many instances of elephantiasis, pronounced it to be not contagious, differing in this respect widely from the plague, which both Larrey and Sir James McGrigor have, on the testimony of what they saw in Egypt, pronounced to be highly contagious.

One of the most sad events, however, which befel the remaining part of the army in Egypt, was the death of its chief, General Kleber, who was assassinated by a fanatic named Soliman-el-Hhleby. He was succeeded in the command by Menou, who issued useful orders for the organization of hospitals. He also augmented the pay of the military medical officers, and gave them rewards so justly due to their merits.

The French occupation of Egypt was about drawing to a close. Harassed alternately by disease and insurrection, they soon had to encounter a new enemy on Egyptian soil; for on the 8th of March, 1801, the English landed at Aboukir, and immediately fortified themselves in the ruins of a camp which once had been that of Cæsar. On the 21st of March the French made a fruitless attack on them in their intrenchments. Nineteen hundred French, among whom were six generals, were wounded in this attack. All those amputations which were performed within a few hours of the limb being wounded were successful.

Those officers and soldiers, however, who, after being severely wounded in the limbs, resisted the exhortations of the surgeon to have the limb amputated, died subsequently in agony. These amputations were performed on the field of battle, amid a shower of bullets, but with an amount of skill and of *sang froid* which cannot be too much extolled. So successful were these bold and benevolent operations of the French military surgeons, that in less than a month after the fatal battle on the 21st of March, more than 1000 wounded were cured and restored to their respective regiments.

The following anecdote is so characteristic of Larrey, that it deserves to be mentioned. Among the wounded was General Silly, whose knee was ground by a bullet. Larrey perceiving that fatal results might ensue unless the limb was amputated at once, proposed amputation. The general consented to the operation, which was performed under the enemy's fire in the space of three minutes. But lo! the English cavalry suddenly near

their side. What was then to become of the French surgeon and his dear patient? "I had scarce time," said Larrey, "to place the wounded officer on my shoulders and to carry him rapidly away towards our army, which was in full retreat. I spied a series of ditches, some of them planted with caper bushes, across which I passed, while the cavalry were obliged to go by a more circuitous route in that intersected country. Thus I had the happiness to reach the rearguard of our army before this corps of dragoons. At length I arrived with this honourably wounded officer at Alexandria, where I completed his cure."

Some reverses now attended the French arms, and were followed by a large amount of sickness. Three thousand men were attacked by ophthalmia in its most severe form. Scurvy also spread itself through the army to such an extent that 3000 scorbutic patients were admitted into the hospitals of Alexandria. The different combats also, which were incessantly occurring, aggravated the number of wounded. Under the pressure of these un-

toward events Menou demanded a capitulation, which was signed on the 31st of August. One of the chief conditions of this treaty was that the French should return to their country with all the honours of war. The number of sick and wounded which Larrey was enabled to embark for France amounted to 1338. With eight exceptions, the health of this number was subsequently re-established. Larrey left behind him on Egyptian soil those patients who were then too ill for removal, with a note of recommendation to the English medical officers. It may with truth be said to the credit of these English surgeons, that though too ill for removal in the beginning of September, two months had scarce elapsed before the French soldiers were landed with health quite restored on their native soil.

On Larrey reaching Marseilles, he learnt the news of his appointment to the office of Surgeon-in-Chief of the Consular Guard, which was dated the 2nd of November, 1800. On his arrival at Paris, he was presented to Buona-

parte, then First Consul, who gave him a most pleasing welcome. He then lost no time in writing that work about his medical experience in Egypt to which we have already alluded as fit subject of comparison with "Medical Sketches of the Egyptian Campaign" by Sir James McGrigor.

Soon after Napoleon's title of First Consul had lapsed into the grander one of Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French, the Order of the Legion of Honour was instituted. Orders or degrees had not been in favour with the democracy of France, but they were in favour long before with that great republican Milton, whose opinion on the subject may be quoted in his own words, that "Orders and degrees jar not with liberty, but well consist." Indeed, the events of the year 1861 may tend to prove that the union of States on a republican model, in which the distinctions of rank are wanting, may not always be enduring. Be that as it may, it is very desirable that the honour of such distinctions should be reciprocal; in other words, that any person receiving any order or

degree, should give it honour. Such a person was Larrey. Napoleon thought thus of Larrey, for on the 15th of July, 1804, in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides, while placing on him the Order of the Legion of Honour, the Emperor used the following words: "C'est une récompense bien meritée." A few days afterwards, Larrey was appointed Inspector of Hospitals.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF AUSTRIA.

Larrey takes Medical Charge of the Army assembled at Boulogne for the Purpose of invading England—Frustration of the Attempt by the Destruction of the French and Spanish Fleets—Napoleon enters Germany—His Army takes Ulm and Vienna, and also gains the Battle of Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—Great Mortality caused by Typhus among the French, Austrian, and Russian wounded.

In a short time Larrey proceeded to Boulogne, in order to take charge of the medical concerns of an army which was assembled in that vicinity for the purpose of making a descent upon England. This army, which numbered no less than 80,000 men, was expecting the arrival of those Spanish and French fleets which were to convey them to British shores, when the news arrived instead, that the two

fleets had been annihilated. Buonaparte's intention had been to punish the English for their alleged violation of the treaty of Amiens. A column or pillar near Boulogne, whether prematurely erected or not, commemorates the intention.

Almost simultaneously with the loss of the two fleets, Austria declared herself in favour of England. These events gave Napoleon a reason for invading Germany and for abandoning the attempt against England. With rapidity the French army traversed France, bounded across the Rhine, invaded Baden, Wurtemberg, and part of Bavaria, and reached the banks of the Danube near Donawerth. The head-quarters were established at Augsburg and Burghausen, the French having continued their march thither in spite of hail-storms and hoar-frost. The passage of the Danube was strongly resisted by the enemy at Elchingen. The severity of the combat there was so great as to furnish a large number of wounded. Larrey, who had accompanied the army in the situation of

Medical Chief, caused the wounded, both Germans and French, to be lodged in the abbey at Elchingen, where they were attended to without delay.

Very soon General Mack, at the head of more than 30,000 men, placed himself on the heights of the town of Ulm. While he was deliberating with some amount of Austrian slowness on the part which he should take, the French columns, in passing beyond him, obliged him to shut himself within the walls of the town. About the 25th of August Mack capitulated, and a garrison of 30,000 men with sixty pieces of cannon marched out of Ulm and laid down their arms. The French army, ranged along the sides of some of those hills which twist round the town of Ulm, and having in its centre the Emperor Napoleon on a rocky eminence, looked down on the unarmed Austrians as they passed slowly along. Five hours glided away before the whole of the Austrian garrison had thus passed along under the review of its conquerors.

The triumphant French army continued its

course to Munich. On his arrival there Larrey saw, for the second time, the distinguished anatomist Sœmmering, who showed him the valuable museum of anatomy in that town. The Emperor, however, remained only two days at Munich in order to erect Bavaria into a kingdom, and then continued his march on Vienna, of which he made himself master without striking a blow. Prince Murat, at the head of the advanced guard, made his entry into this city, and Napoleon established himself with his head-quarters at Schönbrunn.

The march of the French army had been very rapid, notwithstanding the snow and the rain, which fell constantly. The soldiers had not always time to dry their clothes, and the provisions were not distributed with any regularity, except in the large towns, as it was impossible for the various carriages and waggons always to keep pace with the troops. Notwithstanding these difficulties and these fatigues, the health of the soldiers was excellent, and Larrey, who had accompanied the army

from Boulogne to Strasbourg, and from Strasbourg to Vienna, has been often heard to remark, that those men who travelled the greater part of that long distance were, on entering Vienna, the most robust in appearance.

The French soldiers, however, seemed animated with an extraordinary energy and with an unbounded confidence in the genius of the great captain who commanded them. Moreover, when he arrived at the place of bivouac, the French soldier, though he might be wet and tired, was obliged to go in search of wood for the purpose of kindling a fire, and also to procure meat and vegetables in order to make a supper for himself. However, this continual exercise up to the moment of repast, which he often took before a good fire, supported the vital activity of his organs, and preserved him from those inflammatory maladies and rheumatisms which he doubtless would have contracted if he had taken repose immediately on arriving at the bivouac.

The Austrian army, in retreating before the

French, had taken the route of Moravia, in order to effect its junction with the Russian army, which Napoleon sought also an opportunity of combating. The Emperor left Vienna on the 26th of November, 1805, and at Hollabrün fell in with the Russians, whom he defeated. Soon afterwards he made himself master of Brün, a place abounding in convents and asylums, which Larrey at once appropriated for the benefit of the wounded. The enemy was nigh at hand, a battle was imminent, and there was thus arising an indispensable necessity for preparing reliefs proportionate to the great drama which was about to be enacted. It was the battle of Austerlitz.

As the allies were said to exceed 80,000 men in number, all in the finest condition and animated by the presence of members of the imperial families of Austria and Russia, Napoleon anticipated a bloody conflict. He entrusted to Larrey the complete superintendence of the medical concerns of the army. He told Larrey that the battle would pro-

bably be fought on the 2nd of December. The French Inspector of Hospitals, therefore, made all the sanitary arrangements with promptness.

The French army, obeying with clear understanding the wish of its chief, established itself in a circular manner on a range of hills in front of the enemy. The Emperor, in a spirit-stirring proclamation, announced that to-morrow was the day fixed for victory. Before retiring to rest, he passed through the lines of his army to see if all was well. The enthusiasm of the men broke forth in transports which cannot be described. Their shouts rent the air, while their torches reddened the sky. In sign of joy and hope, each soldier made torches of the wood of his hut and of the straw of his bivouac, both to celebrate the coronation of his beloved Emperor and to proclaim his own confidence in to-morrow's victory.

The night was cold, but clear and starry. Long before dawn, on the 2nd of December, the Emperor was on horseback. Calm

stillness at first prevailed, which, before the last star had disappeared in the firmament, was broken by the sound of a distant cannonade. At length in cloudless brilliancy rose the sun—that sun of Austerlitz—gilding the summits of the mountains, piercing the mists in the lower grounds, and ushering in one of the brightest days in the career of Napoleon. Its light gradually revealed to him a serious fault committed by the allies, who, in their desire to turn the French right, which was the cause of the cannonade about daybreak, had abandoned the key of their position. Not a vestige was to be seen on the commanding heights of Pratzen of artillery or bayonets, which were so conspicuously reflected in the sunset of the preceding day. With this disadvantage to the allies began that battle which has been called *journée des trois Empereurs*, because of the presence of the three Emperors, Napoleon, Alexander, and Francis. The same name, however, of *journée des Empereurs* is almost equally applicable to the battle of Dresden, some years later, when

Napoleon's glory was setting. Both were glorious, but that of Austerlitz was entirely successful. In that battle the French took 120 pieces of artillery, and also made 30,000 prisoners. The number of wounded was immense. Most of the French wounded were attended to by the medical officers on the ground, and almost at the moment of receiving their wounds. Many of the operations were speedily but skilfully performed under the enemy's fire, after which the patient was moved away to a place of comparative safety by the *ambulances volantes*.

The peace of Presburg was the result of the battle of Austerlitz. However, the sufferings of the soldiers and the labours of the surgeons did not terminate with that peace. On the contrary, typhus fever broke out in the hospitals of Brün amid the French and Russian wounded who were there assembled, in spite of all the precautions of Larrey. It was the fatal result of an union of a great number of men in one place, thus verifying the principles laid down by Sir John Pringle, that hospitals

are themselves a cause of disease. It was therefore the plan of Sir James McGrigor, who had studied the works of his predecessor, to distribute the sick as far and wide as possible. After great battles, this excellent plan is not always immediately practicable. At Austerlitz it would have been very difficult, because among the 30,000 men, Russians and Austrians, who were made prisoners, many were severely wounded. Foes and friends were crowded in hospitals near Brün, and such havoc did typhus make, in spite of the zealous attention of the French surgeons, who were heedless of their own safety, that in a month nearly a quarter of the number thus crowded were dead. It is here worthy of remark that the Hôpital de la Charité, in which the wounded of the Imperial Guard were lodged, being remote from the other hospitals, had the fewest deaths.

CHAPTER VI.

CAMPAIGNS OF SAXONY AND PRUSSIA.

Entry of the French into Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Intrepidity of Larrey—Napoleon's Appreciation of Medical Officers—Combat of Heilsberg—Battle of Friedland—Suspension of Arms—Interview of the Emperor of France with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia—Treaty of Tilsit.

BUONAPARTE had put his foot on the neck of Austria and somewhat humbled Russia, but he had still enemies to overcome in Saxony and Prussia. Accordingly the Emperor, who had returned to France after the peace, left Paris in the month of September, and after a series of triumphs, of which the action at Jena was one of the most conspicuous, he entered Berlin on the 27th of October. At Berlin, Larrey found leisure to visit the academies and

museums, and also to make the acquaintance of some distinguished Prussians, among whom was Baron von Humboldt. The Saxons had made peace with the Emperor, but the King of Prussia, allying himself with Russia, prolonged hostilities. The Emperor Alexander had directed a great number of troops towards Poland. On the 25th of November, Napoleon departed from Berlin, passed the Oder at Custrin, and on the day following entered Prussian Poland. On the 30th of the same month Larrey arrived at Posen, and selected convents to improvise hospitals. He then visited the hospitals of the town for the purpose of observing the diseases which prevailed in that part of Europe. It was in one of these hospitals that Larrey saw for the first time that singular affection of the hair to which has been given the name of "plique Polonnaise," or Polish disease of the hair.

On the 15th of December the Emperor quitted Posen, and on the evening of the 22nd of the same month he arrived at Warsaw with his guard. He left this town, however, imme-

diately, with the resolution of proceeding onward, but the roads were almost impassable. This difficulty gave Napoleon an opportunity of appreciating those little ambulance carriages which, mounted on two wheels and well suspended, passed everywhere, even with facility, when the roads were bad, and which received the wounded furnished by the engagements of outposts.

The French marched upon Eylau, where the army of the enemy, supported by 400 heavy guns and 60 pieces of horse-artillery, had fortified itself in a most determined manner. It was strong in numbers and in discipline, in the valour of the soldiers and in the ability of the generals. The battle of Eylau commenced on the morning of the 8th of February, and while heavy flakes of snow were falling, grape, musket, and cannon-shot were fast carrying destruction amid the hostile masses. So severe was the contest, that at the close of the day about 50,000 men lay on the whitened ground weltering in their blood. Scarce either party could claim the victory; for

though Napoleon kept possession of the ground near Eylau, about nine days elapsed before his army could stir. The weather was intensely cold and the neighbouring lakes were frozen, while the French army, needing food and rest in that desolate season, was continually exposed to the incursions of hordes of Cossacks. The number of wounded, which was immense, taxed greatly the energies of Larrey, but his energies amid so many hardships rose equal to the occasion. So freezing, however, was the cold, that the instruments requisite for the operations too often tumbled from the powerless hands of the French surgeons. Too often, also, were the zealous medical officers overpowered by those hardships the effects of which they fearlessly attempted to mitigate.

The following extract from Larrey's writings about the state of the wounded after Eylau, displays so completely his characteristic energy of mind and sympathetic quality of heart, as to make it worthy of insertion :—

"I preserved, happily, a supernatural strength, excited doubtless by the deep interest which

the honourable victims of the battle of Eylau inspired in me. While I was operating, or directing operations, I heard on all sides of me the most pressing appeals to me from the sufferers. To the doleful moans of these intrepid soldiers succeeded, after the operation, a prodigious and almost inexplicable calm, along with a kind of internal satisfaction, which they expressed by testimonies of the most lively gratitude. They appeared no longer occupied by their personal evils; they made vows for the preservation of our Emperor and the success of our arms; finally, they mutually encouraged each other to bear patiently the different operations which their wounds rendered necessary.

"It was in the midst of all the obstacles which a hostile locality and a rigorous temperature were presenting, that some of the most delicate and difficult operations were performed successfully.

"Just at the moment when a veritable consolation was diffusing itself in the soul of every wounded man, an unexpected effort made by the right wing of the enemy to outflank

our left, precisely at the point where the ambulances were stationed, was calculated to spread trouble among these distressed men. Already some who were able to march had taken flight; others were making vain efforts to follow them and escape this unexpected attack. We, however, were their prop and support; we were determined to die rather than to seek ignominious safety. I expressed forcibly to all the wounded who remained the resolution which I had taken not to abandon my post; I assured them that, whatever might be the result of this alarm, which to me appeared false, they had nothing to fear for their life. All the members of my own department rallied round me and swore not to abandon me.

"Presently an impetuous charge, purposely made by the cavalry of the Guard on those columns of the enemy which had been threatening us, in the midst of dense whirlwinds of snow, prevented the event so dreaded by our wounded men. Calm was re-established, and it became possible for the medical officers to continue uninterruptedly their operations.

All the more serious wounds of the Imperial Guard, and a great part of the line, were treated and operated on during the first twelve hours; then only did any of the surgeons begin to take rest. We passed the remainder of the night on the ice and snow around the fire of the bivouac of the ambulances. Never had there been so hard a day for me: never had my soul been so keenly moved: it had been hardly possible for me to restrain my tears in those moments when I was endeavouring to sustain the courage of my soldier-patients."

No one perhaps knew better than Napoleon the wisdom or expediency of rewarding those who preserved the lives of his brave soldiers, and who thus contributed to neutralize or lessen the destructive powers of the enemy. So much did he admire and so justly did he appreciate Larrey's intrepid conduct amid danger, that Napoleon gave him a higher grade in the Legion of Honour, with the name of Eylau embroidered in the ribbon.

The situation of Larrey on the field of Eylau, exposed as he was to the incursions of

wild hordes of Cossacks, almost deprived of food and rest, and surrounded by hardships, but ministering bravely and beneficently to the wants of the wounded who lay weltering on the earth, and saving many a life at the hazard of his own, may slightly remind the English reader of the case of Surgeon Thomson. In both cases the enemy was Russian. However, while the qualities of Larrey and Thomson, especially their dauntless courage and self-denying humanity, were alike, the rank, position, age, and fate of the two were widely different. Larrey, as Inspector of Hospitals, directed the energies of the French surgeons; he was surrounded at Eylau by some thousands of his own countrymen severely wounded; he was then in the prime of life, and he long afterwards died in his native land full of years and honours. Thomson was an assistant-surgeon; as such he gave his own unaided skill to the wounded foe after the battle of the Alma; he was not then cheered by the presence of any British officer, and he died in early youth on a foreign soil, leaving behind him a

name which the scholarship and obelisk originated by Sir James McGrigor may preserve. Both, indeed, were worthy members of that profession whose end and aim in battle and in hospital are to avert death and mitigate human suffering.

But to return to Larrey, he endeavoured, as soon as the condition of the patients would allow, to remove the wounded far away from the battle-field. They were transported gradually, by means of the *ambulances volantes*, to Inowraclow, where there is a vast château, which possibly the owner never intended should become an hospital. The distance of this place from Eylau was not less than fifty-five leagues. Many, doubtless, would suppose that it would be far better not to move the wounded, especially those who had undergone operations, than to carry them so long a distance. Larrey, however, has often said that experience proves the contrary. When the wounded remain largely assembled in one locality, they are apt to fall into a profound discouragement, which is provoked by their

own unhappy state, and still more by the apprehensive and anxious observations of their comrades. The abundant suppuration and the foul exhalations engendered by so many wounded men are fertile in producing hospital putrefaction, gangrene, and typhus. Each diseased man becomes a source of infection for his neighbour, and the presence of all developes an atmosphere so pestilential as to cause a larger number of deaths than the battle-field. This opinion of Napoleon's medical chief is quite in harmony with the principles laid down in that work of Sir John Pringle on the Diseases of the Army to which we have already referred. It may here be added that this excellent work, besides going through several editions, has been translated into the German, Italian, and French languages, which makes it not improbable that Baron Larrey was versed in its contents.

Larrey, however, apart from any theory or any principles laid down by others, had sufficient proofs in his own wide experience to demonstrate the benefit to the wounded of removing

them from the field of battle. He had found it successful with the army of the Rhine, and still more with the troops in Syria after the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. In the vicinity of this last place it had been a matter of necessity to transport the wounded over eighty leagues of arid plains under a burning sun. Yet, of these unfortunate people, who were all grievously wounded, some of them being deprived of a limb, and who, moreover, had only a skinful of fresh water along with two *galettes*, or cakes of biscuit, for their subsistence, about four-fifths arrived in Egypt either cured or in a fair way of recovery.

The same good effects which had attended the removal of the wounded amid the heat of Egypt occurred amid the cold of winter in Poland. The jolting of the journey kept up the play of the organs in the wounded men, while the gentle excitement of it favoured the expansion of the sanguineous vessels and the healing of the scars. The odours of suppuration and the exhalations, which when pent up in a narrow locality were so injurious, were

continually dissipated in the pure air; while the energies of the patient were strengthened by change of place and newness of scenery. Napoleon quite agreed with Larrey in opinion about the benefit of removing the wounded, and gave every facility for their being transported to a considerable distance from the field of battle at Eylau.

The first days which followed this great battle were very injurious to the army, and especially the Imperial Guard. To the rigorous cold, which was acutely felt, had succeeded all at once a decided thaw. This sudden change was the cause of numerous dysenteries and of rheumatic maladies. Larrey superintended the cure of a vast number of men whose noses and ears were frozen after the battle of Eylau. This distinguished surgeon had opportunities of remarking that the cold is only the predisposing cause of the gangrene which manifests itself in such cases. The heat which succeeds the cold is in reality the determining cause of gangrene. It happened that, in spite of a cold of fifteen degrees Réaumur, which was

the scale of the thermometer during the three days before the battle, and in spite of their station in the snow, the Imperial Guard did not contain a single case of a man being frost-bitten. However, in the night of the 10th of February, when the thermometer attained the height of five degrees of Réaumur above zero, a great number of soldiers of the Guard and of the line complained of numbness, of tingling or pricking, and of pains in the feet. Those who, while the cold lasted, warmed at the fire of the bivouac the parts diseased, saw the gangrene declare itself there on the commencement of the thaw; those, on the contrary, who rubbed the affected parts with snow, and afterwards with camphorated brandy, were preserved from gangrene.

While the bulk of the French army pursued the Russians through the immense forests which stretch themselves as far as Plegel, the Imperial division, including the guard, remained at Eylau. After the 17th of February it began to take up its quarters at Osterode and in its environs. The different corps of

the army established themselves subsequently behind the Passarge, on the line of Liebstadt, of Morningen and of Elbinghen, where they reposed a little from this campaign.

Very soon afterwards, the Guard were ordered to evacuate Osterode and fix their cantonments in the environs of Finkenstein, where Napoleon had established his head-quarters, while Larrey and his *ambulances volantes* were quartered in the neighbouring village of Reisenbourg. The reason for this change of quarters from Osterode to Finkenstein is thus given in the pages of the eminent British historian Sir Archibald Alison: "The head-quarters of Napoleon, in the first instance, had been fixed at Osterode, on the margin of one of the lakes which form the feeders of the Drewentz; but, on the representation of the learned and humane Larrey that such a situation was low and unhealthy for the troops, he moved them to Finkenstein, where all the important negotiations which ensued in that cessation of hostilities were conducted. The Guard were disposed around the Emperor's

residence; and not only that select corps, but the army, was lodged in a more comfortable manner than could have been anticipated in that severe climate." Who can read this impartial testimony of Sir Archibald Alison without applauding the beneficent arrangements of Napoleon's medical officer Larrey? In compliance with the suggestion of the French Inspector of Hospitals, the Emperor ordered the soldiers to erect temporary barracks on the plateau of Finkenstein. Here they passed two months in quarters which they hoped they might not have to quit except to re-enter France.

Such a battle as Eylau, which had cost the lives of 20,000 Russians and 15,000 French, besides causing an immense number of wounded, was enough to damp the ardour of the combatants for a time. The ensuing four months, therefore, became a period of comparative quiet, varied only by occasional skirmishes and affairs of outposts. One of the most important of these was the battle of Heilsberg, where 200 French were wounded.

Among these was the aide-de-camp of the Grand Duke of Berg, M. de Ségur, part of whose arm was carried away by a musket-ball while that projectile was at the height of its speed. This circumstance probably saved the life of Ségur. The bullet, besides carrying off part of the arm, had torn off some of the skin of the breast, leaving without injury the side. If, on the contrary, the projectile had been near the end of its course, instead of tearing off the skin of the breast, it would have fractured the side, dilacerated the lungs, and determined death. In spite of the severity of his wound, this distinguished officer was cured on the thirty-fifth day. In this combat at Heilsberg Colonel Jeannin, of the 12th Light Infantry, was also badly wounded, and so disfigured by the enemy's shot, that his friends could not recognise him. However, by the aid of good surgery his wounds were healed, and very little of the disfigurement remained.

After the battle of Heilsberg the Russian army retreated to the neighbourhood of the little town of Friedland, where the Emperor

Napoleon, on the 14th of June, 1807, totally defeated it and obliged it to repass the Niemen. The Russians then demanded a suspension of arms, which was granted to them. The two armies approached the banks of the river, in the middle of which was moored a raft, and on it was erected a wooden apartment, which was the place of meeting for the two Emperors and the King of Prussia. The preliminaries of peace having been settled in this temporary apartment, the Emperor Alexander, together with the King and Queen of Prussia, repaired to the Palace of Tilsit. Larrey availed himself of this opportunity to visit the Russian army and go through their hospitals in like manner as Sir James McGrigor, on the conclusion of the Peninsular war, nearly seven years later, took occasion to visit the hospitals of Marshal Soult's army and traverse part of the south of France. The curiosity of Larrey was excited by the appearance of the Cossacks, and still more by that of the Calmucks. These last were armed only with bows and arrows. It is related that these Calmucks were dex-

terous in killing birds at a great distance, but that they never hit a Frenchman. The cause of this great difference in their skill is by no means obvious, especially as a Frenchman is decidedly volatile.

Larrey about this time established a large hospital for the sick of the French army at Königsberg, where, being well lodged, they soon recovered their health. While at Königsberg, Larrey made a short tour amongst its beautiful environs. He also went along the western bank of the Frischhafen, as far as Pillau, where they find the yellow amber or succinum, the oil of which is sometimes beneficially rubbed in the last stages of hooping-cough. The antispasmodic property of the rectified oil of succinum makes it useful in giving relief to tic-douloureux, swelling of the limbs, and other bodily diseases or infirmities.

On leaving Königsberg, Larrey proceeded to Berlin and Hanover, where he established his *ambulances volantes*. He afterwards visited Jena, where the professors of the schools

of medicine gave him a cordial reception. He then proceeded to Paris, and resumed his situation as Surgeon-in-Chief of the Hospital of the Imperial Guard. About this time Napoleon was crowned King of Italy, and soon afterwards Larrey received the insignia of Chevalier of the Order de la Couronne de Fer. Well did he merit that honour, for it was his destiny to pass a great part of his existence in the midst of armies, to dedicate or consecrate the vigour of his mind and body to the exercise of military medical duties, to labour often on the field of battle, and to undergo a long course both on the theory and on the practice of the best means of prolonging life, even in those places where death and violence seemed to exercise an absolute empire.

CHAPTER VII.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF SPAIN.

Insurrection at Madrid—Larrey's gallant Defence of the French wounded against an infuriated Populace—Prevalence of Gangrene and Colic—Siege of Saragossa—Entry of the English into the Province of Zamora—Their Retreat to Corunna, and the Death of their General, Sir John Moore—The Imperial Guard returns to France, but the English Prisoners of War are so severely wounded, that Larrey remains behind, in hope of effecting their recovery—He contracts the fever under which many of the wounded are labouring, but after being delirious, he is restored to health by his pupil and relative, Augustus Larrey.

EARLY in the year 1808 Larrey received orders to proceed to Spain with a column of the Imperial Guard. War between the French and the Spaniards had been declared, and an army, under the orders of Prince Joachim, Grand Duke of Berg, was directed

towards the Pyrenees. Larrey, therefore, quitted Paris on the 11th of February, 1808, with Frizac, a young assistant-surgeon distinguished by his zeal and ability.

On their way to Spain, Larrey visited his mother at Bordeaux, but he remained there only a very short time, as the French army was already assembled at Bayonne. Larrey, on his arrival at this last place, received orders from Prince Joachim to take the general direction of the medical department of the French army, and to perform the duties of Inspector of Hospitals of the line from Bayonne to Burgos.

Larrey entered Spain, rejoined the Imperial Guard at Toulouse, and passed the Ebro along with it to Miranda. The appearance of the towns in this part of Spain recalled to his mind his service in Egypt. There were the same narrow and irregular streets, the same prominent balconies, the same kind of gratings to the windows, and the same absence of chimneys as in Cairo and Alexandria. Perhaps Spain, from its contiguity to Africa, and

its long Moorish occupancy, is less European in aspect than any other part of Europe.

From Miranda, the Guard proceeded to Burgos, which is delightfully situated at the foot of a hill. It possesses a cathedral of rare beauty and the tomb of the Cid. There is also at Burgos the celebrated château within the walls of which was born Queen Blanche, the mother of Saint Louis. This château, on the arrival of the French, was in ruins, but it was rebuilt by them. This restoration, however, of a ruined building is not much in accordance with the rules and practices of war.

Larrey soon afterwards went to Madrid to rejoin Prince Joachim. There he lodged a great part of the sick, both of the Imperial Guard and of the line, in the Hôtel-Dieu. He established, besides, a school of military surgery and medicine, in which he commenced giving lectures. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Madrid, angry at the departure of their own royal family for Bayonne, began to revolt against the authority of Buonaparte. Larrey,

while accompanied by his nephew Augustus Larrey and two surgeons, Frizac and Fabar, on his way to the hospital on the 2nd of May, was exposed to great danger. On reaching the hospital, he heard the infuriated populace uttering threats that they would massacre all the French wounded. Larrey therefore ordered the gates of the Hôtel-Dieu to be closed, and armed both the surgeons and the convalescents. The insurgents, consequently, in endeavouring to force their way into the building, were received with a discharge of musketry, and they met altogether with so warm a reception from Napoleon's medical chief, that they were soon glad to make a retreat from the hospital.

At this time both gangrene and colic were causing a large mortality among the wounded at Madrid. With gangrene, Larrey was only too well acquainted. The colic, however, of Madrid being quite a new disease to him, he profoundly studied the causes of that malady. He subsequently wrote an interesting memoir, in which he has explained that the colic is an

epidemic peculiar to Madrid and the surrounding environs to the extent of seven leagues. In the treatment of this epidemic of Madrid, he found emetics and purgatives combined with camphor, opium, musk, and quinine very useful. The Grand Duke of Berg and many sufferers from colic, who were treated with these remedies, were healed entirely. When persons labouring under this disease are in a fair way of recovering, the pains in the stomach disappear, and are succeeded by acute sensations in the extremities, which are much swollen. When, on the contrary, they are in a hopeless state, they are occasionally attacked with bloody vomitings. The colic is characterized by pains in the stomach and bilious vomitings.

Unfortunately, at this time disease began to increase largely within the Spanish capital, and insurrection to show itself in the neighbouring provinces. The Grand Duke of Berg was seized with a malignant fever. As soon as he was convalescent, at Larrey's suggestion he proceeded to France. The Emperor's

eldest brother, Joseph, was his successor. Meanwhile Larrey transported as many of the wounded of the Imperial Guard as possible, first to Burgos, and then to Vittoria, by means of the *ambulances volantes*. How little would he or any other French officer have thought it possible that only a year or two later Vittoria would become the scene of one of Wellington's most brilliant victories! Larrey proceeded part of the way with the Guard, and then received orders to join the division of the army which was commanded by Marshal Bessières. The position of the Marshal's army afforded Larrey a convenient opportunity of studying the physical condition of the Castilians. Suddenly he received an order from King Joseph, whose throne had certainly no resemblance to a bed of roses, to proceed to the royal quarters at Haro. Larrey thence proceeded to Bilbao, and afterwards he was appointed *Chirurgien-en-Chef* of the whole army. Larrey, when at Bilbao, availed himself of the opportunity of purchasing some of the little cars of Biscay and introducing them among his *ambulances*

volantes. They were lighter than most other vehicles, and were well adapted for transporting the wounded over bad roads and through mountainous defiles.

About this time occurred a siege which probably is without a parallel in modern Europe, which, besides astonishing all military writers and historians, has given subjects for the poet and the painter—the siege of Saragossa. Without walls it withstood 40,000 disciplined and ardent French troops; but such was the unshaken zeal of the besieged that after the town had been entered, every house which had not been demolished seemed to become a separate fort and the scene of obstinate resistance. Larrey was not present at the siege, as he was at that time accompanying the Emperor Napoleon on his way to Madrid, through defiles of mountains near the village of Soumma Sierra. Some of those mountains were bristling with the enemy's cannon, but an opportune fog, along with the presence of mind of Napoleon, enabled the French to thread their way through various dangers with

less loss than might have been expected. All those who were wounded by the shot of the Spaniards were attended by the French surgeons on the road-side, and then carried on mules and in ambulances, first to Buytrago, and afterwards to Santo Martino, near Madrid. That capital, however, refused to open its gates at first to the French; but a bombardment of a few hours' duration sufficed to make it capitulate.

At Madrid intelligence of the entry of the English army into the province of Zamora was received, and it was also said that the advanced guard of the English was at Valladolid. The French left Madrid on the 22nd of December, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of this army on the route to Corunna, in the event of its sustaining a reverse; but the crossing of the mountains of the Guadarrama was so rugged that they arrived a day too late for such purpose at Benevente. The retreat to Corunna had commenced, a retreat which was skilfully and gloriously conducted in presence of overpower-

ing numbers of the enemy. It sustained a severe loss in the death of its general, Sir John Moore, whose heroism so far excited the admiration of the French, that their leader, Marshal Soult, erected a monument to his memory.

As a proof of the gallantry which was displayed by the English under adverse fortune, it may be mentioned that most of those who fell into the hands of the French as prisoners of war were badly wounded. They were skilfully attended by the French medical officers, under the able superintendence of Larrey. The Surgeon-in-Chief of the Imperial Guard was evidently of opinion that the duties of the physician and the rights of humanity among the sick and wounded admit of no distinction of country. So attentive was he to the necessities of a brave and generous enemy, that he was unable to accompany his own countrymen about this time in their return to France. The Imperial Guard returned thither, but Larrey remained in Spain. Constant in his duties, he had neglected his health. In short,

Larrey, while taking care of the English prisoners, had contracted the contagious fever under which they were labouring. He was seized with delirium on the road to Burgos, and undoubtedly he would have died of fever if he had not been watched with devoted care by his young pupil and relative, Augustus Larrey.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF AUSTRIA.

Battle of Eslingen—Death of Marshal Lannes—Passage of the Danube by the French near the Island of Lobau —Battle of Wagram—The chief honour of the Victory due to Marshal Macdonald—Large number of wounded at Wagram — Larrey's remarks on the utility of immediate amputations—His elevation to the dignity of Baron of the Empire—Surrender of Vienna and conclusion of Peace.

As soon as Larrey was partly restored in health, he proceeded to France, and at length reached Paris, where his family at that time resided. He was then convalescent, but while in that state he was suddenly ordered to join the army in Bavaria. What a contrast would the stern horrors of war, with all its blood-stained scenes, present to Larrey's home, gladdened by the presence of his devoted wife and

innocent young children! The voice of duty, however, left him no alternative. Larrey accordingly proceeded to Germany with all the speed which his impaired strength would allow.

On the 22nd of April Larrey reached Strasbourg, and there learnt the victory which the French had obtained at Ratisbon over the Austrians. He arrived under the walls of Vienna a few days before the entry of the French army into that capital. The Emperor Napoleon ardently welcomed Larrey, and ordered him to organize the ambulances which would be necessary for a second campaign.

After breaking the bridges on the Danube, the enemy retired to the other side of that river. Vienna, thus abandoned, after enduring a bombardment of some hours, capitulated to Buonaparte.

The French immediately laboured to construct new bridges, selecting chiefly those places where the Danube is intersected by islands. Thus nature assisted the work of the engineer, and the passage of the river by

the French in pursuit of the Austrians was rendered comparatively easy. The island of Lobau, which is of great extent, afforded a kind of halting-place for the Imperial Guard and several other corps besides. This occupation occurred on the 20th of May. Two days afterwards was fought the battle of Eslingen, the immediate result of which was to drive back to the island of Lobau some of the regiments which had crossed the Danube. Larrey was in the meantime busy in establishing *ambulances volantes* on the left bank of the river. The station of them was near the entrance of a small forest. Not far from it one day the Duke of Montebello, Marshal Lannes, while he was on his way from the place of combat to the imperial quarter, was struck by a bullet, which after having made a rebound, crushed the left knee and grazed the right thigh of the Marshal. By the first of these wounds he was at once reduced to a state of prostration and stupor. Recourse was had immediately to amputation, as the sole chance of saving life. Larrey then ordered the patient to be carried

to the island of Lobau, where he would be beyond reach of the enemy's fire. The wound of the stump, when amputation had been performed, appeared at first in a satisfactory state. Unfortunately, about six days after being wounded, Lannes was seized with fever. A fatal issue was now certain, and the Emperor, warned of it, visited his distinguished companion in arms. He embraced the dying hero, exclaiming, "Do you know me, Lannes? I am your friend! I am Buonaparte! Lannes, you will be preserved to us." The Marshal answered, "I desire to live, but I believe that before an hour you will have lost your best friend." He lingered, however, about two days after this interview.

Though all the wounded in the island of Lobau received much attention from the French surgeons, they suffered greatly. The chief causes of their sufferings were the heat of the day, and the icy coolness of the night. Moreover the destruction of the bridges and the insufficient number of boats rendered it almost impossible to import the quantity of provisions

and comforts requisite for the large number of wounded. The Surgeon-in-Chief Larrey, in order to prevent his patients being starved, ordered soup to be made of horse-flesh. Although Larrey endeavoured to spare the horses as much as possible, yet the French generals, who chiefly suffered, were loud in their complaints at their horses being turned into food. It was a wanton violation, as they thought, of the rules both of Epicurus and of humanity. Accordingly they complained to Buonaparte of the manner in which their animals had been served up by order of Larrey. The Emperor summoned Larrey, and in the presence of his staff demanded an explanation with a most severe expression of countenance. "What," said he, "have you on your own responsibility disposed of the horses of the officers in order to give soup to your wounded?" "Yes," answered Larrey. He added no more, and soon afterwards he heard of his elevation to the rank of Baron of the Empire. The want of food was not greater than the want of utensils, and among the expedients for remedying the defi-

ciency was that of picking up cuirasses on the field of battle. On these cuirasses, the owners of which had in most cases been killed, soup of horse-flesh was served, there being scarce any other nourishment for Larrey and his patients in the island of Lobau. Unfortunately, many of the wounded were about that time attacked with tetanus. Serving, as Larrey did, in numerous campaigns, he had frequent opportunities of observing this disease, and with his usual ability he profited by these observations. It is well known that by deep cauterization and other remedies he succeeded in restoring to health many of those in whom the disease appeared at first incurable. In his professional works this eminent surgeon has accurately detailed the causes of this disease and the best mode of preventing fatal consequences.

To return to the French army, on the 4th of July all the troops were assembled in the island of Lobau, when it was resolved that they should again attempt the passage of the Danube. For this purpose the Count Baste,

captain of a vessel, commanded a flotilla carrying three thousand men. Scarcely had they embarked when a violent storm arose. The lightning flashed in lurid majesty over the two armies, while the roar of hostile artillery was occasionally lost in the more grand and more prolonged roll of thunder. In short, during the cannonade of the Austrians the elements were simultaneously at war. The French, however, were both quick and orderly in their passage of the river, and in a few hours all the batteries of the enemy were in their power.

The enemy retired on Wagram, which became the scene of one of Napoleon's most memorable engagements. While victory was still doubtful, Marshal Macdonald advanced at the head of eight battalions. Moving onward rapidly but steadily, these battalions pierced the enemy's columns and dismantled their guns; but at length they had to encounter a storm of grape-shot and of musketry, which thinned their ranks and enveloped them with fire. No thought of retreat, however, for a moment seemed to enter their minds. At

length Napoleon, who had been watching the progress of Macdonald's men with intense anxiety, perhaps believing that the fate of that day's battle depended on their success, ordered up most of his reserve to their support. With this opportune reinforcement Macdonald continued to advance, and in a short time he obliged the Austrians to retire. Thus before the sun had set upon the blood-stained field of Wagram, the victory of the French, perhaps the most splendid of Napoleon's victories after that of Austerlitz, was complete. Macdonald, to whom the chief honour of it seems due, was the son of a Highlander who, after the battle of Culloden in 1745, along with twenty officers of the same clan, found refuge in France.

The immense number of wounded after the battle of Wagram taxed largely the exertions of Larrey, who did not seek rest until four in the morning of the day following. He then slept two hours, and about six o'clock resumed his arduous duties. A vast number of amputations had been performed imme-

diately after the wounds had been received. Larrey on this subject has been heard to use the following words : " Une heure de delai est souvent la cause de la perte des malades." In short, the military medical officer must not only give his energies after an engagement, but he must also perform operations on the field while the battle is raging, and wherever the balls are falling thick he must search for the wounded, in order that he may be able to cheat Death of his prey.

In support of the foregoing remarks may be mentioned the case of Daboville, colonel of the Light Artillery, who was almost the first officer wounded at Wagram. This distinguished officer had the right shoulder shattered by a ball of large size. The neighbouring bones were all broken, the nerves were lacerated, and the axillary artery was disorganized. Colonel Daboville, on receiving the wound, became deadly pale. His eyes were dim, his voice seemed gone, and his pulse was low. He was tormented with hiccups in a manner which seemed to indicate that he was about to

die. The extreme weakness of the patient rendered it probable he might sink under the application of remedies. The French surgeons, however, made the attempt to save his life, and excruciating pain was the first result. The complicated dilaceration of nerves and muscles under a large wound was doubtless the cause of that extreme pain. But the hope of preserving life animated the medical officers, and successfully, for, notwithstanding the large surface of the wound, Colonel Daboville was restored to health in three months. He became afterwards a general in the French army.

After the loss of the battle of Wagram the Austrians retreated to Snaïm, while the French established their quarters at Schönbrunn and at Vienna. The comparative leisure which Larrey now enjoyed enabled him to give lessons in surgery and also to visit the fine anatomical preparations in the grand hospital of the Josephine Academy. At this time the French soldiers gave Larrey many proofs of their affection and esteem in return for that

zealous humanity which he had so often displayed on the field of battle, where he had been ever ready to brave death in the hope of giving succour to his wounded countrymen. The Chef de la Grande Nation, Napoleon, who well knew how to appreciate the noble conduct of his medical officers, sanctioned with his powerful authority this good opinion of Larrey, and soon after the battle of Wagram gave him a dowry or pension of 5000 francs per annum, having only a few weeks previously, as already noticed, conferred on him the title of Baron of the Empire.

After the surrender of Vienna and conclusion of peace Larrey returned to Paris, where he arrived in December, 1809. Fortunately he availed himself of this interval of repose to put in order the numerous documents which he had collected during his journeys, and also the scientific observations which he had made during his campaigns. On the 1st of January, 1810, Baron Larrey resumed the direction of the hospital of the Imperial Guard. For two years he remained in Paris in a state of com-

parative inactivity. At the end of that period, however, he was appointed Surgeon in Chief of the Grand Army, an army which had for its object the subjugation of part of the Russian Empire, or at least the expulsion of the Russians from Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

CAMPAIGN OF RUSSIA.

Larrey arrives at Erfurt and at Berlin, at which latter place he delivers a course of lectures on Surgery—Passage of the river Niemen by the Army of Napoleon—Violent thunderstorm at the opening of the Campaign—Arrival of the Grand Army at Vitepsk—Capture of Smolensk—Arrival of the French Army at Wiasma—Disappointment of the French at finding every town a prey to flames and bereft of supplies—Able and orderly retreat of General Barclay de Tolly—Battle of Moskowa—Large number of Wounded, and efforts of the Medical Officers under Larrey for their relief, amid the deficiency of lint and splints and other requisites—Arrival of the Grand Army at Moscow—Description of that City—Conflagration of Moscow—Aspect of the City after the Fire—Napoleon abandons Moscow—He attempts to retreat by Kalouga, and through districts where he might find supplies for his large Army—The attempt is frustrated by the Russian General Kutusoff, who forces Napoleon to return by the old Smolensk Road, and

through those provinces the resources of which had lately been consumed by War—The French reach Mojaïsk—Generous conduct of Larrey towards the Russian Wounded—Increased severity of the weather, and diminished supply of provisions—Battle of Krasnoé—Critical state of Napoleon at Orscha—Passage of the Berezina—Heroic and humane conduct of Larrey on its banks—Arrival of the French at Ochmiana—Their Sufferings from intense cold—Arrival at Wilna—Conduct of the Jews of that City towards the Wounded—Arrival of the French at Gumbinen—Observation of Larrey that the Soldiers who were natives of the South of France or of Italy, better resisted the action of cold in the Russian Campaign than those who were born in the North of Europe.

It is said that Napoleon long entertained the project of combating the Russians and of throwing them back upon Asia. He knew the tendency or inclination of the people of the north to encroach upon the rich countries of the south; he knew that by the extinction of the Cimbrians and of the Teutons, Marius had prolonged for ages the power of his country; he knew that Trajan, Aurelian, and Theodosius had equally, by their victories, for a time opposed a dyke or rampart to that almost in-

cessant wave of barbarians which, after inundating, finally overwhelmed the Roman Empire. He had seen the recent attack of Souvaroff with his Tartars on Italy and his attempts against France. He therefore conceived the project, in the year 1812, of utilizing the forces of the Revolution for the purpose of removing far beyond Moscow the Russians, and thus saving Europe, as he thought, from being overwhelmed by a semi-barbarous people. However, he made some proposals of peace before commencing this gigantic strife, and, as one of the conditions of peace, he demanded that the Russians should have no commerce or intercourse with England. But the French envoy, M. de Narbonne, found the Emperor Alexander calm and immovable in his resolution to prefer war to peace. Showing the envoy a map, he said, "I do not want to make to myself any illusions. I know that the Emperor Napoleon is a great general; but you see I have the advantage of space and time. There is no remote corner of this vast territory to which I will not withdraw, no distant part

which I will not defend, sooner than agree to a shameful peace. I do not attack, but I will not lay down my arms as long as there remains a single foreign soldier in Russia." These noble words of Alexander rendered war inevitable.

Larrey joined the head-quarters of the French army on the 1st of March at Mayence. From thence he proceeded by Erfurt and Magdeburg to Berlin. The French army, on its arrival at that place, was in ignorance of the end or aim of the expedition. Larrey, however, seems to have had some presentiment of a war against Russia. Desgenettes, who was Physician-general of the French army, held the same opinion as the Surgeon-general. Accordingly both of them began to make all the necessary arrangements for the admission of a great number of sick into the hospitals. Larrey assembled all the surgeons of the French army at Berlin, assigned to many of them their places with the *ambulances volantes*, and delivered, for the benefit of all of them, a course of surgical lectures. All the Prussian

surgeons at Berlin availed themselves gladly of the opportunity of instruction which was thus afforded by the talented lecturer.

Larrey was also seconded with laudable zeal by the Chevalier Görcke, Surgeon-general of the Prussian army, by Grœffe, Professor of Surgery, by Hufeland, first Physician of the King, and by Wiebel, Physician-in-chief of the Prussian army. The delivery of lectures and the preparations for a campaign, together occupied much of Larrey's time. What remained of it was devoted by him to the study of those anatomical pieces which are so well preserved in the museum at Berlin. How noble are the pursuits of science, how ennobling when devoted to the purposes of humanity, and how well did Larrey pass his time at Berlin, both in giving and receiving instruction on the eve of that expedition into the heart of Russia, which war and the elements were soon to render so disastrous!

From Berlin the army proceeded to Posen, and from thence to the left bank of the Vistula. It amounted to more than 400,000 men, and

it consisted of French, Spaniards, Italians, Austrians, Prussians, Bavarians, Wurtemburghers, Westphalians, and Saxons. Out of this miscellaneous mass were formed ten corps d'armée. The head-quarters reached Thorn about the 2nd of June. It was only at that time that the 400,000 men were made acquainted with the service on which they were to be engaged, the war against Russia.

About the 3rd of June councils of the different departments of the army were assembled for the purpose of making final arrangements for the ensuing campaign. In the grand *Conseil des Hôpitaux* Larrey took, as may be supposed, an active part. About the 3rd of June also, Napoleon pointed out the tracks which the different corps of the army ought to follow in order to penetrate rapidly into Russia.

About seven days afterwards the Imperial Guard was at Heilsberg. On the 24th of June it reached Kowno. Here was the first exchange of shots, and here the French medical officers, almost fresh from the lectures of Larrey at

Berlin, had to attend several French wounded. The Russians destroyed the bridge over the Niemen at Kowno, and soon afterwards took to flight. Who could then have foreseen that before the close of the year 1812 the last of the Grand Army would have to recross the Niemen at Kowno, pursued by a detachment of Russian cavalry? An army exceeding 400,000 men, buoyant with hope and confident of success, in June, 1812, crossed the river Niemen, and in December of the same year Marshal Ney said to General Dumas, "I am the rearguard of the Grand Army—Marshal Ney. I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kowno; I have thrown into the Niemen the last of our arms," &c.

The Grand Army, after crossing the bridge of Kowno, experienced some difficulty from the badness of the roads, which were rendered nearly impassable by heavy rains. These early hardships in the Russian campaign produced many deaths among the conscripts of the Young Guard. Four days after crossing the Niemen at Kowno, the French began to occupy Wilna,

and the Emperor Alexander, who believed them to be at a distance, had just time to leave it when the advanced guard began their entrance. A number of small engagements which took place about this time, furnished the surgeons of Napoleon's army with about 150 wounded, who were placed in the hospitals of Saint Jacques and La Charité. Baron Larrey gave at the same time evidence of his foresight by providing in Wilna all the requisites for the treatment of 6000 sick. Although the Baron did not then apprehend the magnitude of the disasters which were to follow one another with frightful rapidity during the ensuing six months, yet he was fully aware that a conflict between the forces of two such Emperors as Napoleon and Alexander could not occur but with very grave results.

Napoleon, by an order of the 9th of July, again regulated the march of the army. At six on the following evening there was to be a grand review. The weather was close and hot. There was scarce a breath of air, but the horizon was charged with clouds. It was

that gloomy stillness which precedes the storm. The men in silence awaited the arrival of their chief.

Presently commenced the distant roll of thunder; gradually it became louder. Though the sun had not set, yet the whole army appeared shrouded in darkness. Its vast masses, though they had been ranged in order for a review, were rendered almost invisible. Presently, in dazzling brilliancy, the lightning flashed on the bayonets, the cuirasses, the lances, and the helmets of the Grand Army. The long and heavy pieces of cannon were also revealed in its fitful glare. Meanwhile the blast of trumpets announced the approach of Napoleon. At that moment the whole sky was illumined by the lightning. The air was violently agitated, and presently there fell a torrent of rain and hail. Thousands of horses took to flight, as if they vainly sought to escape the unchained horrors of nature. There was no review, and the Emperor, chased by the tempest, took refuge in the town of Wilna.

Soon afterwards part of the Grand Army reached Benchenkowiski. Here the advanced guard of the French had a combat with the rear of the Russians. Six hundred French were wounded, while 500 Russians, too badly wounded to be removed by their own countrymen from the field of battle, were placed along with the French wounded in the Jewish temples of the town, where they received, under the instructions of Larrey, the same attention as his own countrymen. It is thus that the dark clouds of war are occasionally brightened by the services of humanity. One of the Russian colonels in the French hospitals had received a sabre-cut obliquely down the nose and the upper jaw. The effects of this sore were to lay open the holes both of the nasal organs and of the mouth. Part of the nose was reversed on the chin, while a fragment of the upper jaw was connected with the rest of the face only by two shreds of the lip. This horrible sore was washed; the osseous fragments also were detached from the hanging flesh, the clots of hardened blood were raised, the

detached lip and nose were brought nearer to each other, and the shreds of skin were united by ten sewings. Other remedies were methodically applied, and so successfully that the cure of the Russian colonel was achieved. The cure was perfect, and not even deformity remained.

On the evening of the 26th of July, the Grand Army entered Vitepsk, which the Russians abandoned immediately. The French army was able to rest there a little, and much did it need rest. The supplies, moreover, had not arrived in the abundance which was required. Larrey established hospitals in Vitepsk for the purpose of receiving the 1500 French and Russians who had been wounded on the preceding day, but he was much in want of lint and other requisites. He directly gave up his own linen, and many of the French surgeons followed his example. Although Larrey's energies were greatly taxed, he nevertheless added to his humane labours by ordering a minute search for the wounded enemy to be made in all the houses of Vitepsk. He

thus discovered 350 Russians who had been wounded by howitzer shells, lying on infected couches and surrounded by putrefaction. Some were attacked with gangrene, others appeared ready to die of hunger, and all of them were in too weak a state to be able, even if they were willing, in the absence of their own countrymen, to call for assistance.

Among the wounded in the French hospitals was a Russian soldier who had been struck in the forehead by an iron ball of the weight of 217 grammes. This projectile had pierced the frontal bone above the right eyebrow, and had penetrated into the interior of the skull. In spite of the bulk of this iron ball, the opening which was perceptible did not exceed six or eight millimètres, and by introducing across it a small probe, one might feel the ball. The smallness of the opening may be explained by the elasticity of the osseous fibres which the ball would have to push, after it had struck the bone of the forehead. These elastic fibres would in such

case yield and become distended; but as soon as the iron ball had ceased its depressive action by eating into the cavity of the brain, these fibres, by means of their elasticity, would no longer be distended, but would retire to their former place, so that a ball of iron more than an inch thick would be below an opening of the smallest diameter. Thus all the ordinary attempts of extracting the ball would be defeated. Larrey, however, caused the wound of the fleshy part to be greatly enlarged, unfolding the osseous aperture, and he applied three crowns of trepan communicating between themselves and with the opening produced by the iron ball. Having cut the osseous angles which they left, the surgeon obtained an opening which permitted him to extract the iron ball by aid of a strong pincer and of an elevator. A great quantity of coagulated blood and of little osseous fragments was then removed. The brain presented under these covers a depression of about seven millimètres. The cure of the wounded Russian under French surgical

aid made progress, and in a little time it was complete.

From Vitepsk the French proceeded to Krasnöe, where an engagement took place between their advanced-guard and the rearguard of the Russians. The advantage was on the side of the French, who took fourteen pieces of cannon and also made a great many prisoners. Under Larrey's direction, a hospital was fitted up on the field of Krasnöe, into which were admitted 500 wounded French and also a great many of the wounded of the enemy.

The French army was put to a severe trial soon afterwards in approaching Smolensk. That town, situated on a height, could be approached only by passing a number of defiles, which the Russians had taken the precaution to fortify with numerous pieces of artillery. The French, however, took the Russian redoubts successively at the point of the bayonet, and on the afternoon of the 17th of August they encamped outside the walls of Smolensk, where they met with no opposition.

Instead of the roar of artillery or other hoarse sounds of war, there was a kind of inexplicable stillness. The weather was also calm, the sky was cloudless, the sunset was gorgeous. No sooner, however, had twilight disappeared than the sky was reddened by the reflection of vast columns of flame, rising upwards as if the whole city of Smolensk was on fire. On the following morning the French began to enter the town by ladders, and found it bereft of inhabitants, except only the dying, who lay mingled with the dead at the entrance to the bridges and in the streets.

On entering Smolensk, Larrey converted fifteen of the largest buildings which had not been devastated by the flames, into hospitals for the wounded. Unfortunately, all supplies or stores of any kind had either been destroyed by the enemy or removed by them in their orderly and premeditated retreat under Barclay. For the large number of wounded there was a deficiency of linen and splints; but Larrey discovered a store of archives in one of the buildings which had escaped the fire, and

he substituted paper for linen and used the thick parchment for splints. In a state of so much want it became difficult and almost impossible for the French medical officers to perform their duties; especially as to save life it was necessary in many instances that amputation should be performed within twenty-four hours after the wound had been received. Larrey, however, not only displayed his usual energy and zeal, humanity and skill, on entering Smolensk, but amid the wreck of its buildings and the deficiency of its supplies he showed himself fertile in resources. He toiled with little intermission night and day, and the French surgeons generally, in imitation of their chief, were indefatigable in their attention to the wounded, who were about 10,000 in number.

As Smolensk was regarded almost as the bulwark of old Russia, a belief gained ground in the minds of the French officers that Napoleon, content with his present triumph, and apprehensive of the difficulties of a further progress into the interior of Russia, would there have terminated his course of victory.

Larrey so far shared in this opinion that he left within the walls of Smolensk all the medical officers of the French reserve and also five divisions of light ambulances. With the sixth division of ambulances Larrey set out for Valentina, in order that he might succour the wounded of General Gudin's division, which had been engaged in a combat with the Russian rearguard.

At Valentina General Barclay had placed the Russian rearguard to dispute the advance of the French and to cover or protect his own retreat towards Moscow. This general, who held diyided command with Prince Bagrathion of the whole Russian army, was, like the French marshal Macdonald, of Scotch extraction. He was one of the ablest of the generals of the Emperor Alexander. In quitting Smolensk after it had been set on fire, he seems to have adopted nearly the same policy as was afterwards practised on a still grander scale by Kutusoff and others at Moscow. It would have been well for Napoleon if, after paying so dearly for his triumph, he had terminated the war at Smolensk. He was dazzled, however,

by the hope of entering Moscow as a conqueror, and he thus allowed his army to be still further wasted and diminished by the effects of fatigue and occasional conflicts with the Russians wherever the nature of the ground enabled them to make an advantageous stand. The first stand made between Smolensk and Moscow was at Valentina, where the rearguard of the enemy was posted strongly behind a ravine. A contest then ensued in which the French general Gudin was struck by a cannon-ball in both legs. After lingering three days, he expired. The contest of Valentina furnished about 700 wounded, whom Larrey ordered to be transported by *ambulances volantes* into Smolensk.

The French soon afterwards approached Wiazma. As this place was known to be the *entrepôt* of a great commerce between the two Russias, Larrey indulged in the hope of finding there ample stores for the sick and wounded. Great, therefore, was his astonishment to find, on entering the town, one part of it reduced to ashes and the other still encircled with flames.

It was entirely bereft of its inhabitants, who in their flight had carried away with them all the provisions which they had not destroyed. Fortunately, the cellars had escaped the devouring fury of the flames, and in these were found some stores of oil, brandy, and sugar. A part of these stores was used by the French surgeons in restoring the strength of their patients. The Imperial Guard quitted Wiazma for Ghjat; but, like all the other towns, it was deserted by its inhabitants and was a prey to fire. Nothing indeed could be more skilful than the retreat of the Russian army, first under Barclay, and afterwards under Kutusoff; the latter of whom had pure Russian blood in his veins, while Barclay, as has been already mentioned, belonged to an old Scottish family. Both these generals destroyed the Russian towns, and converted the country, as far as possible, into a desert; so that, while the necessities of the French increased, the means of relieving them, the further they advanced into Russia, were diminished. Fortunately, about the time of the entry of the French into Ghjat, a heavy

shower of rain in some degree checked the violence of the flames. The roads, however, were rendered, by the badness of the weather, nearly impassable. The fatigue and hardships of the advanced French army became very great, and, as the result was a large amount of sickness, the labours of the French medical officers were excessive.

The French at length discovered that the Russians were determined to make a stand at Mojaïsk near Moscow. The heights of Mojaïsk were strongly fortified, and there a battle was inevitable. On the 5th of September, about two in the afternoon, the French army began to attack the Russian intrenchments, and the approach of night alone prevented the action from becoming general. That evening Larrey ordered the wounded to be removed to the abbey of Kolotskoï, which was conveniently near to the field of battle. The whole of the following day was devoted by Russians and French to the repose of their men, and to the final preparations for a battle which was likely to be decisive. Larrey, as Surgeon-in-Chief,

assembled on that day thirty-six of the superior medical officers. He issued many directions to them about the care of the wounded, and also made an inspection of the ambulance corps of all the divisions of the army. Larrey, however, had left a large body of the medical officers at Smolensk, so little did he conceive that Napoleon would penetrate as far as Moscow. Early on the 7th of September, the battle of Moskowa, or, as English historians have named it, Borodino, commenced. The left wing of the French was commanded by Prince Eugène, and the right by Prince Poniatowski, while Murat was in the centre with the Emperor and the Guard. For fifteen hours the battle raged vehemently. On the side of the French forty generals were killed or wounded, and 20,000 men were put *hors-de-combat.* It is said that the French discharged 60,000 cannon-balls. Night put a stop to that deadly encounter, but not to the labours of the French medical officers. All day the *ambulances volantes* had been employed in efforts to save the wounded, and all day had the French

surgeons been busy in performing operations on the field with unquenched zeal while the Russian artillery was vomiting fire around them. When life appears to be ebbing, every moment is important to the patient, and therefore must the military surgeon be under fire; but if it be asked why a non-combatant is then so calm, it may also be asked why should not humanity brace the nerve and render the surgeon cool, though the sulphureous hail of bullets is so thick around him.

The battle of Moskowa, more known in England as the battle of Borodino, terminated at nine in the evening of the 7th of September; but, with slight intervals of rest, the labours of all the French military surgeons continued until the following night. The weather was cold and misty, which was not the most favourable to the recovery of the wounded. However, although there had been a vast number of amputations above the shoulder-joint, a great part of the wounded were so far healed as to be enabled subsequently to accompany the French on their return to Germany.

Among the number of those who underwent this amputation was a *chef de bataillon*, who mounted his horse soon after the operation. In a short time the horse died of fatigue, but the cavalier, instead of riding another horse, continued his journey on foot to France safe and sound, although he had been wounded at the last battle fought before the French entered Moscow.

The wounds received at the battle of Moskowa were nearly all serious, because they were caused by artillery and musketry at a very short distance. Thus it happened that under Larrey's own observation, and even under his own direction, no less than 200 amputations were performed. Yet, in spite of the victory which had been purchased so dearly in French blood, the French were deprived of everything which seemed indispensable for their wounded. There were neither couches nor blankets, nor was there covering of any kind. There was a scarcity of bread and flour, and the chief diet was soup made of horse-flesh, cabbage-stalks, and a few potatoes. The Cossacks, scattered

everywhere, hindered the march of the French convoys. Thus, lint and splints, so necessary after a battle, were deficient, and while the wounded lay on the cold, damp ground, they were in want of many of the ordinary requisites. Yet Larrey and the medical officers almost compensated for so many deficiencies by their own tenderness and ability. During the first twenty-four hours after the battle their exertions were almost incessant, and for several days afterwards were very little relaxed.

The Russians continued their retreat rapidly, and on arriving at Mojaïsk, stopped long enough there only to set it on fire. While the flames were still active in devouring that place, the French reached it, and Larrey observing a few large detached houses which were destined to escape their fury, secured them for the wounded. The French army sought at Mojaïsk such rest as a burning city could afford, and then pursued its route to Moscow.

The French marched through a long sandy plain, without trees or verdure, without

streams, without supplies of any kind, and without inhabitants; for the inhabitants had gone away, and the few villages were in ruins. The army of Napoleon was tired, thirsty, and hungry; but Moscow, with its golden cupolas, its spacious buildings, its luxuries, and its comforts, was not far distant. The old capital of almost the largest empire on the globe would soon be the abode of the army of Napoleon. What a goal would that be to reach after many a long and weary march! The blood-stains in the banner of victory would almost be effaced in the glory of such a triumph.

At length, on the 14th of September, on reaching an eminence in the road, the advanced guard suddenly caught sight of Moscow. As all the battalions of the army reached that part of the road, they halted, and the sound of Moscow reverberated through their ranks. It was a moment of intoxication. After a short halt, they continued their onward course, and as the old city of the Czars of Muscovy became brighter and clearer, the

joy of the French soldiers increased. Murat, at the head of the cavalry, galloped forward, and concluded a truce with the enemy for the evacuation of Moscow. The whole French army soon afterwards began to enter the gates of that city.

The French soldiers dispersed themselves through the town and gazed at its novelties. The houses were richly furnished, the churches were profuse in ornament, and the palaces seemed stored with the wealth of ages. Afterwards some of them climbed to the summit of the Kremlin. From that spot they looked down upon a city which in extent seemed as large as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin altogether. Beneath them, in survey, were 1500 palaces, with gardens and parks, and thousands of houses of a perfectly new architecture, tiled or roofed with polished iron of various devices. From the midst of these abodes arose hundreds of churches and innumerable steeples. Conceptions the most eccentric of Byzantine, Tartar, and Armenian architecture had there raised edifices, twisted the columns in front of

them, and also produced a variety of contour and painting. Many of the houses were of coloured wood, but the colours were unmatched and incongruous. Then the silvered and gilded cupolas of the principal churches, in reflecting the rays of the sun, gave to this panorama much that was dazzling as well as new to French eyes. Commanding and overlooking all, by its gilded roof of immense height, and by its towers almost laden with steeples, with its walls carved or sculptured like garlands, the Kremlin, in its imposing grandeur, appeared like the father and protector of the old Muscovite city.

The Kremlin, with its two fortified enclosures, was in effect the immense citadel of the capital; it was also the abode of the Czars; it was, above all, the sanctuary where had been deposited, along with the treasure, the venerated images of the Greek religion and the mortal remains of the sovereigns laid out in funeral chapels overloaded with gold, diamonds, and precious stones. Moscow, beyond all doubt, had been the holy city of the Russians,

with its Asiatic character, its Madonnas and all the pious souvenirs of the past.

As the French wandered through a city, partly Oriental and partly European, admiring what they saw, they were not a little surprised on finding all its wealthy and luxurious mansions untenanted. Here was a city of immense extent, with much appearance of refinement and civilization, but without a population save a few stragglers. How little did they dream that those stragglers had their part to perform as incendiaries! How little could they apprehend or foresee in that calm autumnal night that Moscow would soon be wrapt in flames and echo with explosions!

The French soldiers had long been strangers to the luxury of a bed, but on the night of the 14th of September they slept on soft couches in the abodes of the wealthy and of the noble. It was an interval of sweet repose, but unconscious insecurity. The morning sun of the 15th of September rose upon French Moscow, gilding all those stately edifices which were soon to crumble into ruin. During the whole

of that day the illusion seemed undisturbed. The soldiers, masters of the finest city in the Russian empire, dreamt only of enriching themselves, persuaded that the Emperor Alexander was about to solicit peace. On the night of the 15th of September some of the edifices about Napoleon's new palace of the Kremlin were discovered to be on fire. The midnight sky was also lighted up by columns of flame in different parts of the city. Meanwhile, Larrey, intent on providing for the sick and wounded, was busily engaged in visiting the various hospitals which, in ignorance of the approaching disaster, he had congratulated himself on finding very spacious. However, while he was engaged in his benevolent labours, the frequent glimmerings of light began rather to excite his suspicions. Indeed the whole army soon became alive to the conviction that the scanty remnant of Russian population included a troop of incendiaries. Napoleon's situation at that time was especially critical, because a park of artillery happened to

be quartered under the windows of the palace which he occupied.

While the torch of the incendiary was busy in all parts of the city, the violent gales of the equinox acted almost like a bellows to the rising flames. It was on the 18th and 19th of September that the conflagration became so general as to offer to the astonished soldiers a scene of the sublimest horrors. Then was the horizon illumined far and wide by flames of various colours, which arose from the abundance of oil, brandy, resin, and many other ingredients all burning together in that great furnace. The polished steel roofs of the buildings soon became red-hot, large pieces of painted canvas on fire were drifted to and fro, and balloons of inflammable matter arose, while cataracts of fire appeared to be spouting or foaming in various directions. Meanwhile the air resounded with the harsh noise of falling edifices and the frightful detonations resulting from the combustion of gunpowder. Repeatedly there was a heavy fall of some metal roof, which was hurled downwards by the violence

of the heat, and which widely scattered the fragments of human flesh against which it had been dashed. Occasionally the waves of fire were borne by the wind to and fro, as if some invisible hand or some demon of the air had with magic effect applied the incendiary torch to all the edifices of Moscow.

The flames, which were at first scattered, soon became united, rushing from house to house, from street to street, from quarter to quarter, and almost encircling the army of Napoleon with a belt of fire. This simultaneous outburst of fire in so many places could have only one cause, that of incendiarism, and in a little time this discovered itself.

About the time of the departure of the Russian authorities, the prisons being opened, vomited into the abandoned city a multitude of robbers. These wretches had received orders to burn the city. During the conflagration some of the French soldiers observed men of most forbidding physiognomy and of ragged dress, with torch in hand energetically intent on their work of destruction. The women,

also, intoxicated with drink and maddened with crime, ran across the fiery streets doing all in their power to extend the fury of the flames. Others, who were quite the reverse of accomplices, uttered most piercing cries, while, holding parcels in their hands, they were endeavouring to find an escape through a labyrinth of flames. Poor mothers, carrying one or two infants on their back and leading children by the hand, were seen going across the burning rubbish in opposite directions, vainly endeavouring to find an egress, till, at length, worn out and disheartened, they would fall heavily down on some burning piles or logs, on which they would speedily be consumed. "I have seen," said Larrey, "old men, whose long white beards were nearly singed by the flames, dragged by their children, in small carriages, away from their burning houses." Here, in short, were many instances of helpless infancy and decrepit age which the fond regard of relatives was endeavouring to save from the destructive fury of the flames.

Napoleon clung to Moscow as long as it was

possible; but the increasing fury of the flames at length rendered it untenable. He experienced the greatest difficulty in quitting the Kremlin; while the horses of some of his staff could scarce be made to pass through streets lined with burning houses. At length he reached Pétrowskoié, château of Peter the Great, about four miles from Moscow, and on the road to St. Petersburg. For three days and three nights the fire, still lashed into fury by the equinoctial gales, exercised its ravages, sparing little except the Kremlin, the churches, and some of the large houses built of stone. Napoleon surveyed the burning city from the château of the great Peter, and, after a mournful silence, was heard by Larrey to exclaim, "This sad event is the presage of a long train of disasters." With perfect truth did he make this remark, for, though the old capital of Russia has risen from its ashes with renewed splendour, the burning of Moscow was the forerunner and the omen of the downfall of Napoleon. With admirable sagacity did Barclay and Kutusoff counsel the abandon-

ment of Moscow as the means of drawing the enemy into a snare, where his destruction would be inevitable. With still more admirable patriotism did the Russian governor, Count Rostoptschin, give to the flames a house in which he had lived happily in the bosom of his family, and sacrifice, probably, about half a million of roubles, in order to preserve his native land.

Meanwhile the French soldiers were not inactive. Some of them vainly endeavoured to isolate the flames; but many more of them, in their desire to obtain provisions, descended into cellars and vaults, from whence they brought up a large quantity of flour and liquors. As soon as the fire had nearly destroyed the city, Napoleon returned to the Kremlin, while his guard lodged in some houses which had escaped the flames. The winter soon afterwards began to give evidence of that implacable severity which belongs to a Russian winter. Ordinary forethought might have suggested to the soldiers the necessity of seizing the furs and woollen stuffs wherever

they could find them; but they preferred collecting wines, liquors, and articles of gold and silver. The French army, which till now had been so well disciplined, began all at once to resemble a company of merchants. On all sides the soldiers were to be seen laden with parcels, which occasionally they threw about in a kind of indescribable disorder. M. de Ségur has described the appearance of Moscow and its neighbourhood, after the conflagration, thus :—

"The camps which the Emperor traversed in order to arrive at the Kremlin offered a singular aspect. They were on thick and cold mud in the midst of fields. Here the soldiers were warming themselves by igniting furniture of acacia, windows of handsome framework, and doors of rich gilding. Around these fires, on a litter of damp straw, which was badly sheltered by some planks, one saw the soldiers and their officers, soiled with mud and blackened with smoke, sitting in arm-chairs or sleeping on sofas of silk. At their feet were stretched or heaped up shawls of Cashmere, the

most rare furs of Siberia, and also stuffs of gold of Persia.

"Between the camps and the town one met crowds of soldiers dragging or trailing their booty, or chasing before them, as beasts of burden, mougiks bent under the weight of the pillage of their capital; for the fire showed near 20,000 inhabitants, unperceived till then, in this immense city. They went to shelter themselves with the wreck of their goods near our fires. They lived pell-mell with our soldiers, protected by some, and tolerated or scarce remarked by others. There were even about 10,000 soldiers of the enemy. During several days they wandered in the midst of us, free, and some of them still armed."

The pillage was everywhere, if one can give this name to the active researches which were made by the French soldiers for the riches which the Russians themselves had wished to destroy on quitting their city. These researches had the result of furnishing provisions which would have been able to nourish all the army during six months of *séjour* at Moscow.

The Count Daru had proposed to the Emperor to make of the destroyed town a great intrenched camp, to instal his troops in caves, to pass there the winter, the salt and the bread not failing, and to salt all the horses which they were not able to nourish. In the spring they would receive reinforcements and succours of all kinds from Lithuania, and would resume the offensive. That was perhaps the better part to take; it would be better assuredly than to retreat. The Count Daru gave out, besides, an opinion which the Emperor himself had entertained for several days. "Napoleon," said Beausset, "had so much the idea of passing the winter at Moscow, that one day he told me, while breakfasting, to form a list of the actors of the Comédie Française whom it would be possible to make come to Moscow without deranging the service of Paris." Napoleon wished above all things to remain at Moscow, in order to lose none of his prestige. Circumstances, however, obliged him to quit that city.

With the spoliation of wealth disorder

had got admission into the army. Even the Imperial Guard was not exempt from it. Napoleon confined his guard and issued severe orders. Pillage, however, was for a time reduced to a perfect system of regularity, and marauding in turn was then permitted.

The capture of Moscow was for Napoleon only a barren conquest. He thought at first that he had compelled Alexander to grant peace. With the hope of yet obtaining advantageous terms of peace, he despatched General, afterwards Marshal, Lauriston to the advanced posts of Kutusoff. Like Napoleon's other Marshal, Macdonald, Lauriston was the descendant of an ancient Scottish family, one of the members of which, Law of Lauriston, was Controller of Finance in Scotland in the year 1720. Lauriston was all the better suited to his present mission to the Russian quarters as, previous to the outbreak of the war, he had been sent by Napoleon to Russia, and was there held in some esteem by Alexander. He arranged with Kutusoff the terms of an armistice long enough, at least, for the letter about

the proposed peace to be forwarded to St. Petersburg and to be answered by Alexander.

All the Russians affected to have a great desire for peace. They said that they were eager that the Emperor Alexander would quickly return a satisfactory answer; but that, unfortunately, no answer could reach Moscow sooner than in fourteen days. While there was undoubtedly a truce, which was observed by the regular Russian army, the war nevertheless was carried on upon a small scale, and in a manner very harassing to the French. Clouds of Cossacks hovered on the flanks of the Grand Army, attacking the foraging parties, which each day were obliged to go further and which each day returned more exhausted. Not less than 500 dragoons of the Old Guard had been surprised and killed by the Cossacks. Murat, whom they had lured with fine words, began to see at last that he was the dupe; the half of his cavalry had disappeared in these skirmishes.

As for Napoleon, though deceived for a time, he was nevertheless in a state of much anxiety,

and eagerly did he wish that Alexander would begin to treat for peace. Little did he suspect that entire Russia was using all her efforts with calm energy for a holy war. Yet it happened that when Napoleon was waiting a reply from Alexander, recruits were coming in on all sides to swell the army of Kutusoff, and that his force of cavalry was largely augmented. The peasants also, so far from bringing provisions and commodities to the French, put to death those of their own countrymen whom the bait of gain had attracted to Moscow.

Larrey, meanwhile, was indefatigable in his attention to the wants of the sick and wounded. Whilst the army was daily being enfeebled by these partial but continued engagements, this distinguished surgeon caused many of those losses which the enemy made in the French ranks to be repaired. Mission holy is that which consists in saving and consoling those who, without the surgeon's aid, must have died of their wounds. Thus it happened that Napoleon, who had entered Moscow with 90,000 combatants and 20,000 sick and wounded, was able afterwards

to quit it at the head of more than 100,000 able-bodied men, leaving behind him only 1200 sick. The men whom it was impossible to take away were left together in the Foundling Hospital with three divisions of medical officers to take care of them. Some French surgeons, also, who had been long living in Moscow, and who had been taking vigilant charge of some Russian wounded there, protected those French wounded who were unable to accompany their countrymen in their retreat.

Napoleon deferred as long as possible the evacuation of Moscow and a retrograde movement towards France, knowing that a loss of prestige must be the result. Gradually he lost all hope of friendly intentions on the part of Russia, and at last, on the 19th of October, he began his march on Kalouga. The 19th of October may be regarded as a memorable day in the life of Napoleon. It was a day on which fortune appeared to desert him, and on which the tide of conquest, which had hitherto flowed almost uniformly in favour of the French arms,

began to turn against them and to flow in an opposite course. The glory of the French arms was not obscured; but though it often shone amid disaster, yet most of the victories which Napoleon gained after the month of October, in his retrograde movement towards Kowno, were both costly and fruitless.

The army, in quitting Moscow, took away with it 550 pieces of cannon and 2000 carriages of artillery, besides Russian, Turkish, and Persian standards. It also carried off that famous and gigantic cross which it had snatched from the tower of the Great Yvan. This was regarded by the Russians as a kind of talisman, to the possession of which they superstitiously attached the safety of the empire. Napoleon indulged the hope of seeing this gigantic cross fixed on the dome of the Invalides at Paris. The retreating army was accompanied by a large number of French families who had long resided in Russia, but who were now apprehensive of being slaughtered by an excited enemy; and their appearance mingled itself in sombre and

mournful reality with the glittering pageant of unsubstantial trophies. Most of them did not survive the disasters of the retreat. The Grand Army still numbered about 103,000 combatants, being about a fourth of the number which had entered Russia. It endeavoured, on quitting Moscow, to reach Kalouga, instead of returning by the old Smolensk road, as it was of great importance to occupy a tract of country the resources of which had not yet been consumed by war. The Russian General Kutusoff, on the other hand, perceived how important it was to prevent the retreat of the French through provinces where they might still find supplies for their large army. Accordingly he hastened onwards towards Malo-Jaroslawetz, a place of great strength in a small defile of mountains between Moscow and Kalouga. It seemed almost a race whether the French or Russian army should first reach that small but apparently important place. On the evening of the 23rd of October, General Delson entered it with only two battalions. On the morning of the 25th, the Russian

General Doctoroff arrived there at the head of 25,000 men, and easily expelled the small advanced guard of the French army. Prince Eugène, who had been ordered by Napoleon to take the place at all hazards, soon drove out the General Doctoroff. Reinforcements of Russians then arrived, and the French were again driven out. Seven times in one day was this village taken and retaken; but when night put an end to the bloody contests of that day, it was the prize of the French. Napoleon, delighted with it, exclaimed to Prince Eugène, to whom the chief honour of taking it seems due: "C'est votre plus beau fait d'armes." It cost, however, a large amount of French blood. Among the killed was Delson, who at the beginning of that bloody day struggled to hold the place with his two battalions against 25,000 Russians. The wounded, who were about 2000 in number, were at first ably and humanely treated by the medical officers under Larrey, on the field. They were afterwards placed in those somewhat luxurious private carriages which the

French had brought away with them from Moscow.

Unfortunately this deadly encounter of hostile battalions decided nothing in favour of Napoleon, for Kutusoff took up a position at a little distance from the lost village, and barricaded the route to Kalouga. The attempt to open this passage to the French arms would involve a general action. The chance was hazardous. If unsuccessfully attempted, loss and ruin might be the result; but if the attempt was successful, a passage to Kalouga and the yet unspoiled provinces of Russia might be the fruitful consequence of victory. Napoleon hesitated, and in that interval of hesitation he would have been made prisoner by the Cossacks, if these had not been dispersed by the Imperial Guard. On the 25th of October the two hostile armies remained within cannon-shot of each other, but on the following day each turned its back on the other. This was a fatal step for the French, and was the chief cause of the disasters which ensued in the retreat.

The Russians, in not hazarding an immediate action after the heavy loss of about 6000 men in the severe contest for the village, counted, not without reason, on the force of the terrible severity of winter in a desolate country as a powerful auxiliary to conquer their formidable adversaries. The French, perhaps, acted less wisely in retracing their steps through the scenes of recent conflicts. On reaching Mojaïsk, Larrey found there a large number of French and Russian invalids. He removed from the hospital those who were convalescent, filling up their places with those whose cases were more severe. On arriving at Kolotskoï, he had the satisfaction of finding in the abbey those Russian officers whose wounds the French surgeons had skilfully and humanely attended to on the advance to Moscow almost well. This was a happy moment for humanity, which in its labours often recognizes no distinction between men, be they friends or foes. Larrey, on quitting Kolotskoï, gave these wounded Russians money, as he observed many itinerant dealers from whom

these convalescents might purchase such things as were indispensable for their complete restoration. Having done this good work to the Russian officers, Larrey then commended to their care in that foreign land those wounded among his own countrymen who, such was the severity of their wounds, could not be removed. Thiers, in his "History of the Consulate and of the Empire," after describing Larrey's conduct, adds, "God alone has been able to know whether these Russians paid the debt of gratitude contracted by them towards the best of men." The rest of the French wounded, placed in carriages, were intrusted to the care of the French medical officers, who were under the necessity of attending them daily in the march, notwithstanding the heavy snow which was almost continuously falling. The army arrived first at Ghjat, and afterwards at Wiazma, at which place Napoleon awaited the arrival of Eugène and Davoust, whilst the Russians, hearing of the difficult retreat of the French, soon arranged themselves for an attack.

During the stay of twenty-four hours which the chief part of the French army, with the Imperial Guard, made at Wiazma, Larrey took especial care of both the French and Russian wounded in the hospitals of that place, and caused the evacuation of them by all of his own countrymen who were able to march. Others who were unfit to march, but who were convalescent, were placed in waggons and carriages.

On the 3rd of November, Miloradovitch, the Russian Murat, attacked Eugène at Wiazma. The combat was terrible, and in it the French had 4000 killed or wounded. Disasters multiplied, and the French now began to feel simultaneously the evils of severe cold and scanty provisions. Up to the 27th of October the weather had been still autumnal, and the roads were then good. On the 28th, when the French army reached Mojaïsk, the wind began to blow from the north-west, and the cold to increase. In the neighbourhood of Mojaïsk, which had been recently the scene of battle, the French now saw many frozen corpses. The snow fell heavily, and the roads

were slippery in the extreme, while there was not the time nor was there even the opportunity to have the horses rough-shod. In silent sadness the men continued to march, weakened by fatigue, scarce able to hold their arms, inadequately clothed, and apparently half-famished. At the same time swarms of Cossacks spared no opportunity of annoying them.

Meanwhile, Marshal Ney, who commanded the rearguard, made heroic efforts for protecting or rather saving the army. This man of surpassing courage fought his way during ten days from Wiazma to Smolensk, often defending his life with musket in hand like a simple grenadier, and thus giving to all an example of intrepidity all the more sublime because he had to struggle against universal discouragement. Thanks to his dauntless spirit, the French army was enabled to reach Smolensk, where, in the midst of disasters, they hoped to find rest and food, forgetting that the Russian General Barclay, a few months before, had nearly consumed it by fire.

The Surgeon-in-Chief Larrey arrived on the

12th of November at Smolensk, and there found how delusive were the hopes of his countrymen. Skeletons of horses were seen here and there in the streets of the ruined city. There was no meat, and scarce any food was to be found in Smolensk, except rye, flour, and vegetables.

Such were the resources of Smolensk to enable the Grand Army to continue its retreat. Yet forty days of march were before it, and, as Larrey has often remarked, mild indeed were its sufferings before reaching Smolensk in comparison with those which were endured by it afterwards. But without such a comparison these sufferings were then great and were doubtless the cause of its reduced numbers. Napoleon had left Moscow on the 19th of October, at the head of 100,000 men and with 500 pieces of cannon: when he left Smolensk only 36,000 men remained who were capable of defending themselves, and about 350 pieces of cannon had been lost or abandoned. Napoleon's army appeared now in a fit state to be almost an-

nihilated by Kutusoff, who had 80,000 good troops under his command. Yet the Russian General did not wish to risk a decisive battle, as he hoped that cold would more certainly effect the work of destruction. About the time of the French army leaving Moscow, the thermometer of Réaumur was at 19° below freezing point, and the wind was north-west. The violence of this wind coming over the long plains of Muscovy and ancient Poland was such as to render marching almost impossible.

Though marching was difficult, yet it was necessary, in order to preserve animal heat and vital power. Larrey has often been heard to relate that many of those who were in conveyances fell into a state first of numbness and then of sleep, from which they never awoke. Many of those who rode, upon arriving almost motionless at a bivouac, experienced an irresistible desire to warm themselves; but on approaching a fire they contracted gangrene in their half-frozen limbs. Larrey went always on foot in this retreat, and he avoided like-

wise going near the fires of the bivouac; wise precautions, by which his health and strength were preserved.

On leaving Smolensk, the French army took the direction of Krasnoé. It seemed half dead with cold, hunger, and fatigue. In this route almost every village or abode of man had been given to the flames. The French soldiers, in their want of provisions, threw themselves on horses which were without riders, knocked them down, cut them in pieces, and devoured them on the spot. The women who accompanied the French army eagerly partook of this repast. Such were the cravings of hunger!

Prince Eugène, who was separated from Buonaparte, suddenly found himself surrounded by 20,000 Russians. Four thousand men, sad remnant of 42,000, was all the force with which he had to oppose the enemy. He was, however, saved by his own coolness, and also by the gallantry of his Italian Guard. He deceived the enemy; causing fires to be lighted at night in one direction while he passed on in another to Krasnoé.

On the 17th of November, Napoleon's army, when quitting Krasnoé, was attacked by 60,000 Russians. The Emperor narrowly escaped being killed or taken prisoner. In a moment of extreme danger he was surrounded by his Guard; and it seemed as if the enemy feared to drive him to desperation. The number of French wounded in this engagement was 1200. Most of them were placed in the hospital of Krasnoé. Many were, by Larrey's direction, carried to Orscha, where Larrey knew he would find many of the requisites for their condition.

At Orscha there were with Napoleon scarce 12,000 men. He had little either of provisions or of ammunition. Two very strong armies of the enemy threatened to cut off his retreat, and it was all the more difficult for him to escape their vigilance, because he was unacquainted with the roads of the country. Lest his end might be approaching, he destroyed a large number of historical documents of great value. By the aid of these documents, and of faithfully kept diaries, it had been his inten-

tion to write a memoir of his astonishing career. How interesting would have been the autobiography of Napoleon! He destroyed everything of value in his possession at Orscha, lest the enemy should have noble spoils. Orscha was not a place of safety, but he would not consent to quit it without endeavouring to hear of Marshal Ney, about whom he was in a state of great anxiety. By his command Eugène made a retrograde movement to discover Ney, if possible. Almost inexpressible was his joy when he discovered Ney, who, with only six cannon and 5000 soldiers, ill-fed and worse clad, had been obliged to fight his way through 80,000 Russians commanded by Kutusoff, and supported by 200 pieces of artillery. When summoned to surrender, his answer had been—"A Marshal of France never surrenders." He had cut his way through almost overwhelming numbers, until at length he reached the Dniéper. He there fearlessly plunged his horse into its half-frozen waters, cracking ice almost at every pace, and continually in danger of being engulfed in that

stream. When the Emperor's anxiety about Ney was relieved, he exclaimed, "I have more than 400,000,000 francs in the vaults of the Tuileries; I would gladly have given all for the ransom of my faithful companion-in-arms!"

From Orscha the French army directed itself towards Borisow, for the purpose of passing the Bérésina; but the bridge had been cut. The position of the French was now critical, for they were in danger of being pursued and attacked by the army of Kutusoff, and also by that of Wittgenstein before passing the Bérésina. Moreover, on the other side of that river, Tchitchakoff held himself ready, after the French had crossed it, to thunder on them with a numerous artillery. Napoleon contrived to deceive the enemy as to the point where he would cross, and succeeded, on the night of the 24th of November, and part of the following day, in constructing two bridges over the Bérésina. That night was passed by Larrey without sleep, so much engaged was he in making arrangements for the care of the French sick and wounded.

The French expected that on the 25th of November they would have to sustain a desperate encounter with the Russian armies on both sides of the river. Great was their astonishment at daylight not to see any enemy in their neighbourhood. About one o'clock in the afternoon of that day the passage of the Bérésina was commenced over one bridge by infantry chiefly, and about three hours later over another by artillery and baggage. So much had Tchitchakoff been deceived by Buonaparte, that he had descended the course of the Bérésina whilst the Emperor had ascended the stream. Thus gradually the two hostile armies were removed to a distance from each other. Happily for the French, the Russian General was late in discovering his error.

The passage of the Bérésina, however, was not effected without loss. The bridge for the artillery was several times broken, and thus Tchitchakoff had time to arrive before the entire French army could effect the passage. The Russian general arrived at the head of 50,000 men, and began to fire among the division of

General Partouneaux, the soldiers of which division immediately wished to cross the bridge all at once. The conveyances clashed with each other. Some of the unfortunate men were crushed, while others, losing all spirit, threw themselves into the stream. Some opened a cruel way for themselves by massacreing all who obstructed their passage. Shrieks of women, cries of despair, roar of cannon, noise of explosions, and a variety of sounds were all heard together. A certain number, in the abyss of despair, sat on the banks half stupefied, and, after gazing as if they scarce saw, died of prostration. There was throughout a frightful mixture of imprecations, of clashings, and of strugglings: thence arose indescribable disorder and a breaking of the overloaded bridge. The Russian army approached, and with its formidable artillery tore the ranks of the French mob of soldiers.

Some lept on the pieces of ice, thus risking their lives in the stream, which had become rapid and dangerous by the increase of its

waters and also by a violent wind; others vainly attempted swimming. Some plunged recklessly into the stream. Occasionally was seen a mother plunging herself into the waves of the Bérésina, then raising her hands to heaven in offering her child, and dying with a conscientious belief that a protecting hand was saving this object of her love. Also might be observed another, while endeavouring to cross the Bérésina in a little boat of birchwood, to founder on a piece of ice with her two infants. An artilleryman who had just crossed the bridge, on looking back, and seeing the mother with her two children, sprang into the icy waters of the Bérésina and seized the younger. As the little thing, in its despair, called on its mother, whom it would never again embrace, the stout artilleryman took it in his arms and said, "Do not cry, I have not saved you from the waves only to abandon you on the shore: you shall want nothing, I will be your parent."

In this immense disaster what had become of the distinguished Surgeon-in-Chief of the

Grand Army? After having crossed over the Bérésina with the Imperial Guard, he discovered that requisites for the sick and wounded of his countrymen had been left on the opposite bank. With equal humanity and heroism, he recrossed the stream; and hardly had he done so when he was surrounded by a wildly excited crowd. He was almost suffocated in the midst of it.

It is here that one may find proof of that unbounded affection with which Larrey had inspired the soldiers with whom he was serving. No sooner was he recognized than he was carried with astonishing rapidity in the arms of the soldiers across the river. On all parts was heard the cry nearly in these words, "Let us save him who saved us!" The soldiers almost forgot their own safety in their desire to preserve an officer whose tender kindness they had so often experienced. Both Larrey and Sir James McGrigor repeatedly expressed their opinion that soldiers are deeply sensible of acts of kindness done to them by their officers. A most unmistakeable proof

was here afforded in enabling Larrey to effect safely that passage of the river Bérésina, the attempt of which had proved fatal to so many of his countrymen.

Soon afterwards Marshal Ney, at the head of the rearguard, reached the Bérésina, and the Russian General Tchitchakoff, at the head of 27,000 men, arrived there almost simultaneously. An engagement was the consequence; but although Ney had not more than 8000 men under him, he was successful. About 700 French were wounded. By Larrey's directions they were first taken to a neighbouring village, and afterwards removed by cross roads to Wilna. Among them was the General Zayonchek, who was above sixty years old. His knee was crushed. Without amputation the saving of his life was impossible. It was performed under the enemy's fire and amid thick-falling snow. There was no shelter except a cloak, which two officers held over him while the operation was being performed. Excellent surgery and *sang froid* were displayed by the non-combatant

officers. Larrey directed Zayonchek to be removed, after the operation, to Wilna. The veteran who was thus dangerously wounded at the passage of the Bérésina in the winter of 1812, died at Warsaw on the 28th of July, 1826, while Viceroy of Poland.

Three thousand Russians were made prisoners; but they all died of cold and hunger. There was such a scarcity of provisions in the neighbourhood of the Bérésina, that one third of the Old Guard and one half of the New Guard perished there. Many who had not the resolution sufficient to attempt the dangerous passage of the river were left behind. About the 29th of November the broken bridge was set on fire, in order that a check might be given to the pursuing army of the Russians. On leaving the Bérésina, where death had enjoyed so abundant a repast, the French entered forests and marshes in the hope of reaching Smorgoni. Happily, although their knowledge of the roads or paths was imperfect, they reached Smorgoni two days before the Russians.

After stopping about five days at Smorgoni, the Emperor bade adieu to his army and started for Paris in a sledge, under the name of Rayneval. He would have preferred giving the command of his army to Eugène; but as Berthier refused to serve under any one lower than a king, he appointed Murat its chief. Daru, the well-known historian of Venice, was intrusted with important administrative functions in the retreating army. It was scarcely possible, however, to mitigate the evils to which the French were exposed by the increasing severity of the cold. Soon after the passage of the Bérésina it reached twenty-one degrees of Réaumur; but at Ochmiana it was six degrees colder. No longer did the French soldiers fight for glory, but for a place on which to rest their limbs, in order that they might not die at night. In their marches by day they remained as close as possible to each other, in order that they might better be able to resist the depressing effects of a Russian winter upon their ill-fed and ill-clothed bodies. As they silently marched along over immense

plains of snow, which in their monotony had scarce a vestige of vegetation or of human habitation, they more resembled moving bands of spectres than regiments of warriors who had subdued half Europe. Amid the frightful torments of the retreating army there remained little among officers and soldiers by which their rank or nationality could be recognized. Generals, soldiers, colonels, were all mixed together with their tattered clothing and disfigured accoutrements. The shreds of cloth were burnt by the fire of the bivouacs, and their feet were wrapped up in bits of cloth instead of stockings and shoes. Thus disfigured they were unable to recognize each other, especially as the beards of youth and of age were apparently crystalized by the hoar-frost, and many of them went stumbling on with a seeming decrepitude already half-congealed by that death which ere long might terminate their sufferings. Among thousands life seemed to depend on a cord or thread so weak that the least accident would break it. If they gave way to the temptation of sleep, they

woke not again. So deadly was the cold, so much more deadly than ever had been the enemy's fire, that in the 12,000 men composing the twelfth division of the army, all perished, between Wilna and Ochmiana, with the exception of 350. At Miedneski the cold was so great that Larrey, the Surgeon-in-Chief, found it was twenty-eight degrees on the thermometer of Réaumur which was suspended to his coat-button. It seemed a region in which all life died, death lived; for, as the army of skeletons passed onwards, they observed numbers of dead birds, which, doubtless in their flight towards the centre of Europe, had been overtaken by the winter, and had fallen at once, stiffened by the cold, on the very track which the retreating French were now pursuing. The silence of their march was broken occasionally by the weak voice of some comrade as he sank never again to rise on the snow-clad earth.

Although Larrey, the Surgeon-in-Chief, was a man of unconquerable spirit and robust frame of body, yet, on his arrival at Wilna, on

the 9th of December, he was in a state of exhaustion. There the grey Sisters of Charity received him with many expressions of sympathy, and were lavish in their attentions to his wants. No good Samaritan could have been more zealous in his endeavours to restore Larrey to health than this truly Christian sisterhood of charity.

The Surgeon-in-Chief was so soon restored that, on the day after his arrival, he organized a hospital for the reception of numerous medical officers who were ill, and for other invalids. On the 11th of December he was obliged to quit Wilna, because the enemy was at hand, although the Russians were almost unable to hold their muskets. Indeed, while the French were indulging this opportunity of being fed, clothed, and rested within the town of Wilna, the merciless Cossacks were outside. The advanced guards of Tchitchakoff and Kutusoff were also arriving. Larrey accordingly departed with the Imperial Guard, leaving behind him letters of recommendation to the chief medical officers of the Russian force in

favour of those of his countrymen who were too ill for removal. Unfortunately, Wilna possessed inhabitants whose conduct was not that of a Sister of Charity, and still less that of a Florence Nightingale. It abounded with Jews. Before the departure of the Imperial Guard these Jews had, with apparent charity, received the sick and wounded into their habitations, and even put upon them ready-made garments; but no sooner had Larrey and his countrymen departed, than they robbed the French invalids of what little they possessed, and flung them out of the windows. Possibly these Jews feared to provoke the anger of the Russians if they made their houses a place of refuge for their enemies.

About a league from Wilna the French entered the defile of Ponari, which the quantity of lately-fallen snow rendered almost impassable. Their heavy guns, waggons, and wounded were accumulating between the icy walls of the defile, and were in danger of either being buried in the snow or becoming the prey of the enemy. Much, indeed, was left behind; but

most of the wounded being taken out of the carts, they were carried away in safety on the shoulders of their comrades.

At length, on the 13th of December, after about forty-six days of march through snow, the army began to cross the river Niemen at Kowno. The last to cross it was Ney. In order to protect the retreat of his countrymen, he remained in Kowno till he found the bridge in the hands of the Russians. Seizing a musket, he threw himself upon them and opened a passage at the head of thirty men. Such was the rearguard of that Grand Army which, six months before, had crossed the river Niemen, then elated with hopes of more glorious triumphs than any which they had yet achieved. In the words of the Scottish poet, the snow was the winding-sheet of the greater part of them; and though historians differ about the number, it may be truly asserted that more than four-fifths of the Grand Army melted away under the accumulated hardships of the Russian campaign.

With 3000 men of the Imperial Guard,

part infantry and part cavalry, Larrey proceeded to Gumbinen. These men were nearly all from the south of France, and yet they had not only survived the effects of the accumulated hardships of the retreat from Moscow, but they preserved their arms and their warlike attitude. The Dukes of Dantzic and of Istria were at their head, while the Princes Joachim and Eugène marched in their centre. This little band of 3000 may be regarded as the most vigorous part of the half million of men which had only six months before entered Russia. Its mind and spirit seemed invincible, and within its ranks also seemed intrenched the glory and honour of the French arms.

When the Surgeon-in-Chief Baron Larrey, and the remnant of the Imperial Guard entered Gumbinen, they found beds and also healthy food: both of which luxuries, for so they appeared, had been almost unenjoyed by Larrey since he quitted Moscow. Here the provisions were distributed with regularity, and here also the soldiers had shelter against the cold, which was still intense. Here also they found

excellent clothing. After availing themselves of these advantages and recruiting their strength in such good quarters, the soldiers left Gumbinen for Königsberg, where they arrived about the 25th of December. The thermometer of Réaumur was at twenty-two degrees; but the good food and clothing saved the men from the bad effects of the cold. Larrey arrived at Königsberg before the troops, in order to organize there the hospitals.

The Surgeon-in-Chief of the Grand Army had frequent occasion to remark that the men of sanguine temperament who were natives of the south of France or of Italy, better resisted the action of cold than the men of lymphatic temperament, as the Dutch, the Hanoverians, and the Prussians. The Surgeon-in-Chief states that the Dutch of the third regiment of Grenadier Guards had amounted to 1787 men; but that out of this number there were only forty-one survivors. As the winters of Holland are often severe, this statement that the natives of that country succumbed far more readily to the action of cold,

appears contrary to reason. However, the truth of this statement is confirmed by experience, besides resting on the indubitable testimony of Baron Larrey.

So unable were the northern nations to bear up against the effects of cold, that even the army of the Russian general Kutusoff, which numbered about 120,000 men at the beginning of the retreat, could not muster more than 35,000 men when the French army was arriving at Wilna. The 50,000 men, also, of Wittgenstein, during nearly the same time, melted down to 15,000. It is also recorded that out of 10,000 Russians despatched to Wilna, although they took every precaution against the effects of the winter, only 1700 reached that city. So benumbed and stupefied were the Russian armies by the cold of that terrible winter, that they were incapable of distinguishing the French prisoners who marched in the middle of their columns. Many of these Frenchmen were so enterprising and bold as to attack isolated parties of Russians, and to make themselves masters of

their uniforms and their arms. They would then march in the midst of the Russian columns without being recognized.

On the 21st of December Larrey arrived at Königsberg, almost exhausted by fatigue. Next day he inspected the hospitals of the town. Accompanied by the Physician-in-Chief Gilbert, he gave to the surgeons the necessary instructions for the healing of the gangrene sores caused by the cold, and counselled the application of styrax ointment as most fit to soften and eliminate the scar. Larrey distributed afresh the duties of all the medical officers of the Grand Army who had survived the hardships of the campaign. This arrangement was all the more necessary because the number of wounded under their care at Königsberg was near 10,000. As this number was rather too large for their mutual benefit, he ordered that some of those who could bear the removal should be sent, by means of sledges, to Elbing and Dantzic, with the exception of the wounded soldiers of the Imperial Guard and of the staff.

Meanwhile Larrey, who incurred so much physical hardship and mental labour, became alarmingly ill with a kind of typhus fever. Ever enduring the bad effects of severe cold and often inhaling an infected atmosphere, it was almost impossible for him to retain his health. It is, however, surprising that within a few days he was cured by his host, who, it is said, "N'était pas médecin, mais qui, très-intelligent et connaissant par expérience la fièvre catarrhale de congélation, sut lui administrer les remèdes convenables." Such were the good effects of this skill, aided by common sense and by knowledge of a disease peculiar to a cold climate, that the distinguished surgeon on whose life the lives of so many depended, was convalescent on the 31st of December. Like Burrell, Alexander, Gibson, Wyatt, and the members generally of the honourable and learned profession of medicine, Larrey was too ingenuous to refuse the credit of his prompt recovery from an alarming kind of typhus fever to a person who was unconnected with the medical profession.

Larrey about this time rendered, both to the Commander-in-Chief of the army, Murat, and also to its Superintendent, General Daru, a faithful report of all the operations performed by the French medical officers from the time of the army leaving Moscow until its arrival at Königsberg. As for Murat, on the arrival of the troops at Gumbinen, he made no secret of his strong desire to quit the command and abandon France to its destiny, in order to return to his Italian States. It is alleged that he told Davoust, in the presence of Ney and Berthier, that no one in Europe any longer confided either in the words or in the treaties of Napoleon. He said it would have been quite in his own power to have made peace separately with the English. He cited, with praise, the example of Bernadotte, and criticised with bitterness the proceedings of the Emperor Napoleon against Louis King of Holland. On the observation being made to Murat that he was only king by the grace or favour of Napoleon, and that he could not make a treaty with the enemies of the Emperor without his

agreement, he answered that he was King of Naples as much as Francis was Emperor of Austria, and that he could do as he pleased. Soon afterwards, at Posen, in spite of the representations of Berthier and other generals, he abandoned the army and set out for his own States. On hearing of this act, Napoleon, wrote from Paris to the Queen of Naples, "Your husband is a very brave man on the field of battle; but he is more weak than a woman when he does not see the enemy: he has no moral courage." Soon afterwards he wrote to Murat, "I suppose that you are not one of those who think that the lion is dead. If, however, that is your calculation, you will discover it to be false. You have done me all the ill you could since my departure from Wilna: the title of king has turned your head." Murat was succeeded in the command of the army by Prince Eugène.

About this time Larrey was obliged to go to Frankfort on the Oder. He reached it about the 10th of February. The thermometer then stood at eleven degrees of Réaumur. A disease

had broke out among the French soldiers of the same kind as that from which he had lately recovered. Amid all the hardships of the retreat from Moscow to Kowno, the French soldiers, as their medical officers relate, had been exempt from internal maladies. No sooner, however, did they enter the towns of Old Prussia, where they indulged in the luxury of heated rooms, than the soldiers were attacked by the new disease to which Larrey had given the description of *fièvre méningite catarrhale de congélation*. Many of the strongest men, after resisting extreme fatigue and cold, died from the effects of this description of typhus.

Larrey received orders to rejoin the head-quarters of the new Commander-in-chief, the Prince Eugène. The disasters of the Russian campaign gave encouragement to the defection of some doubtful allies of France. Among the first to take advantage of the reverses of the French arms were the Prussians. The Prince Eugène had his first engagement with these new enemies on the 6th of April, and another

slight affair almost immediately afterwards. In these two actions nearly 600 men were wounded. Larrey caused them to be placed in the hospitals of Mersebourg, where their cases were treated with skill and tenderness by the medical officers of the French army.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND CAMPAIGN OF SAXONY.

Larrey joins the Head-quarters of the French Army at Lutzen a few days before the battle which bears its name — Napoleon's admiration of the heroism displayed at Lutzen by young soldiers who had just quitted agricultural and commercial pursuits—Battle of Bautzen—Mortal wound of Marshal Duroc, and his last words to Larrey — Satisfactory report of Larrey to Napoleon, on the subject of some imputations cast on the wounded conscripts of the French Army—Battle of Dresden—Battle of Leipzig—Narrow Escape of Larrey about the time of the premature blowing up of the Bridge over the Essler—Almost incessant hardships and dangers incurred by the French Army in its retreat from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Rhine—Prevalence of Typhus Fever among the French on their arrival at Mayence.

Prince Eugène and his small army would doubtless have been obliged to succumb, if Napoleon had not arrived about the 1st of

May with large reinforcements. Larrey received orders about this time to quit Merseburg and join the head-quarters of the French army at Lutzen. The arrangements which he had made at the former place for the French sick and wounded were so judicious that they did not suffer by his departure. Indeed, previously to it many of them were convalescent.

He reached Lutzen opportunely, just on the eve of the great battle; one of the greatest, probably, in Northern Germany, since the days when the Swedish monarch fought against the Russians. On perceiving the Surgeon-in-Chief, Napoleon approached him with the following words: "You arrive very opportunely; go into the town, choose the most appropriate buildings for receiving those who may be wounded in the battle which is about to commence, and take all the measures in your power for rendering these unfortunate men the best assistance."

During the battle the enemy made formidable attempts to get possession of Lutzen. The approaches to it and the neighbouring villages were lost and retaken by the French. The

two hostile armies were largely made up of recent levies. Yet these young soldiers, who had been taken from agricultural and commercial pursuits, gave many proofs of heroism. Whole battalions of French conscripts seemed at one moment either crushed, broken, or dispersed by the enemy's balls, and yet the next moment they would rally with the shout *Vive l'Empereur!* and return to the charge as if bent on the alternative of death or victory. Napoleon, who was eye-witness to their deeds, exclaimed, "For twenty years have I commanded the French armies, and yet until now I never witnessed so much of bravery and devotion." This well-merited praise tends to show that men who are engaged in peaceful pursuits may become the best of soldiers when impelled by duty, and especially when warmed by patriotism. Therefore let the spirit of volunteer rifle-regiments be respected, and not respected only, but approved and encouraged when their object is defence and not aggression.

In this battle of Lutzen, the glories of which

were shared by men who had not long quitted the pursuits of civil life, the number of prisoners on both sides was small, while upwards of 30,000 were killed or wounded. Larrey completed his arrangements for the benefit of the wounded, and, leaving behind him a sufficient number of medical officers, set out for Dresden, where the French head-quarters were stationed. He quitted the Saxon capital along with the French army, on the 19th of May, and arrived two days afterwards at Bautzen, where the allies had strongly intrenched themselves on the neighbouring heights which look down on Bohemia. Here Frederick the Great had braved the Austrians in the Seven Years' War.

The battle of Bautzen lasted nearly three days. At the beginning Barclay de Tolly, whose Aberdeenshire descent has already been noticed, at the head of 18,000 Russians, gained some advantages by surprising and well nigh destroying a French division under General Péry. However, Lauriston, whose Scotch descent has also been noticed, very soon re-

paired the loss which the French had sustained by attacking a body of Prussians under General Yorck, and driving them back with a loss of 5000 men. It is vain here to speculate on what might have been the result if these two Scotchmen, one a Highlander and the other a Lowlander, had met in hostile encounter. The success thus obtained prepared the way for the whole French army crossing the river Spree, and for one of its generals, Macdonald, another officer of Scottish origin, chasing Miloradowitsch from all the mountains between Bautzen and the woods. The result of Macdonald's success was that the French crowned all the heights of the mountains, and that Napoleon was enabled, at eight o'clock on the night of the 20th of May, to enter the village of Bautzen.

Early on the morning of the 21st of May, the French army advanced in front of Bautzen. At length Marmont cannonaded the Russian intrenchment of Basschwitz, while the Young Guard, aided by a large park of artillery, succeeded in turning the right flank

of the allies. Ney also succeeded in gaining the peaks of Klein Bautzen. The allied army was soon in full retreat, and Napoleon on the night of the 21st of May established his head-quarters in the centre of the intrenched camp of the allies, opposite to the isolated inn of Klein-Basschwitz.

The victory of Bautzen, however splendid, was fruitless. The French had captured heights crowned with hostile artillery, and yet they captured scarce any cannon. The allies left behind them no trophies of war except a field bestrewed with corpses. The loss on both sides was estimated at 10,000 killed and 20,000 wounded. On the side of the French the loss was especially severe, in consequence of their exposed position. The healing of the French wounded was commenced by the medical officers under Larrey during the action. As far as the clouds of smoke would allow, the regimental surgeons might be seen, without delay, but with admirable *sang froid*, performing skilful operations amid the enemy's balls. For the two following days the labours

of the French medical officers were incessant, and doubtless were the means of saving many a brave man from the grasp of death.

Napoleon, who was pursuing the enemy, wished to have near his person the Surgeon-in-Chief of the army. Accordingly Larrey, a very few days after the battle of Bautzen, received an order to join the Emperor, and reached him at the moment when the Duke of Frioul was mortally wounded. A bullet struck a tree close to Napoleon, from which rebounding, it passed near to the body of the general of engineers, Kirgener, and then, as it were, it shaved the stomach of Duroc. The skin of this region was carried away by it, and the intestines were also perforated in various directions. On recognising Larrey, long since his companion and friend in Egypt, he said, "My dear Larrey, I know well that my wound is far beyond the reach of your art." He died after a few hours of pain, which he bore with fortitude and resignation.

On his arrival at Neumarkt, Napoleon received the proposal of an armistice, which he

accepted. He afterwards returned to Dresden, whither a large part of the wounded had been carried after the battle of Lutzen, both on the side of the allies and on that of the French. So large was the number that the ambulance corps were quite insufficient. The country also was so despoiled, that it offered neither horses nor carriages. The dearth, however, of these was amply compensated by the humanity of the peasants of Saxony, who, regardless of differences between friends and foes, when they saw French, Italians, Russians, and Prussians, all more or less injured, carried the wounded in litters, or drew them in wheelbarrows, into Dresden and some of the neighbouring towns.

This campaign of Saxony had been undertaken by young troops quite inexperienced in the art of war. During the heat of the action a number of very young men had one or more fingers carried away. Hence it was insinuated that they had voluntarily wounded themselves in order to be discharged from the service. All those who had their hands run through by balls, or the fingers carried away, became sub-

ject to the imputation. This infamous calumny disquieted Napoleon, and also made him indignant. He gave orders that the men who were maimed should be assembled in the custom-house, about a kilometre from Bautzen. The number of these was 2632. Larrey was unwilling that credit should be given to the accusation brought against his unfortunate countrymen. However, when the Emperor asked him whether it was possible to distinguish the wounds inflicted by an enemy from self-inflicted wounds, all circumstances being equal, he said, "No medical officer would be able to establish the least difference between the two kinds of wounds."

This opinion of Larrey was not in accord with that of several of his colleagues. Accordingly the Emperor could not be convinced by the assertions of the surgeon of his Guard. He named him President of a Court of Inquiry, and said to him with some roughness of manner, "Go, sir; you will make me your observations officially; go, fulfil your duty." The inquiry lasted several days, and was made with

all the attention, all the care imaginable, by five surgeons, to whose court of inquiry were added a superior officer of the staff, an officer of gendarmerie, and the Grand Prévôt of the army.

The examination of the wounded demonstrated that the sores of the hands proceeded from a want of habit in the management of arms. Thus the soldiers of the third rank, in firing, rested involuntarily the barrel of the gun on their comrades of the first rank, and wounded them in this way more or less grievously. In the hurry of the action they also wounded themselves involuntarily, as the illustrious surgeon, their defender, had observed several times under other circumstances.

Finally, it is to be noted that at the battles of Lutzen and Wurtschen the young soldiers accused charged the enemy in escalading the hills, and consequently that they had always the hands elevated in holding their guns, obliged as they were to point them upwards towards the enemy. The projectiles would thus reach the hands of the conscripts, being the nearest objects in front.

Each wounded soldier made his report. The inquiry was rigid, and the result was a proof beyond doubt that all the wounds in the hands were received involuntarily. When the labour of the inquiry was at an end, Larrey repaired to Napoleon, who said to him, "Well, sir, do you still persist in your opinion?" The answer of Larrey was, "I do more, sire, I come to prove it to your majesty; these brave youths have been unworthily calumniated; I have passed much time in a most rigorous examination, and I have been unable to find one of them guilty. There is not one of these young men who has not made his own report; numerous files of papers follow me. Your majesty can order the examination of them."

Napoleon then walked with hasty steps, as he often did when he was agitated, but appeared very happy to learn that his soldiers were innocent, and very much satisfied, above all, with the decided and straightforward manner in which his Surgeon-in-Chief had made him know the truth. Then he suddenly stopped,

and with emotion took the hand of Larrey, addressing to that man, so courageous and so just, these words: "Adieu, Monsieur Larrey; happy indeed is a sovereign in having near him a man like you; they will carry my orders to you." Baron Larrey received that night the portrait of the Emperor enriched with diamonds, and a pension of 3000 francs from the State.

While Larrey was at Dresden he availed himself of the short truce to deliver a course of lectures on practical and clinical surgery. A large number, both of French and of Saxon medical men, attended these lectures, all of them happy to avail themselves of this opportunity both to see Napoleon's celebrated Surgeon-in-Chief and also to profit by the lectures of so able a professor. While Larrey devoted part of his leisure to giving lectures during the temporary cessation of hostilities, he daily visited all the large buildings in which the wounded of several nations were accommodated. The French medical officers and Larrey were indefatigable in their atten-

tions to foe and friend—to Russians and Prussians not less than to French and Italians; so that even many of those who were dangerously wounded ultimately recovered.

About the 16th of August the truce expired. The following day Napoleon re-established his head-quarters at Bautzen, where he was joined by Murat, whose old friendship and warlike spirit were both awakened by Napoleon's recent successes. Uncertain ally, though *bon Français*, Murat came to make amends for his faults in the last campaign. Napoleon pardoned him, and gave him the command of cavalry, which was somewhat weak in number, for it did not exceed 40,000 men, while that of the allies amounted to 100,000. Murat's recent conduct hardly intitled him to the confidence of Napoleon, for scarcely had he reached Naples when he made overtures to Austria. Also, before quitting his capital, he made secret offers to the Austrian cabinet of mediation between the allies and Napoleon. He further had an interview on this subject with Lord Bentinck in the

island of Ponza. Murat's chief object appears to have been to serve his own interests, though closely connected with Napoleon, besides being greatly indebted to him, and to preserve his kingdom of Naples.

The allies had about 505,000 men under arms in Germany, while Napoleon could hardly muster 375,000. Hostilities commenced soon after the 16th of August, by an affair between the advanced guards of the two armies, near the little village of Lowenberg, in which about 800 men were wounded. Soon afterwards Napoleon heard that Dresden was invested by an overwhelming force. With all haste he turned his army thither, and at ten o'clock in the forenoon on the 26th of August he was on the bridge. At the sight of him and of the troops which followed him, confidence succeeded consternation.

In the battle of the 27th of August, near Dresden, the allies had about 30,000 men put *hors de combat.* The French had no less than 6500 wounded, whom Larrey placed in the hospitals along with those of the enemy.

Unfortunately, many of the wounded were attacked with tetanus. Larrey has related that many of them were saved by the application of a red-hot iron to the sore or wound, and occasionally by amputation, when tetanus had attacked a limb.

The day after the battle of Dresden, a greyhound was brought to the King of Saxony, the ally of Napoleon. The dog was moaning piteously. On the collar were engraved the words, "I belong to the General Moreau." Where was the dog's master? By the side of the Emperor Alexander. Moreau had been mortally wounded. The dog had remained with his master until his death. While Moreau was conversing with the Emperor Alexander, a cannon-shot nearly carried off both his legs. It is said that throughout the five days during which he lingered, he uttered not a murmur of pain. The death of Moreau shed a gloom of sorrow over the minds of the Bourbons who, appreciating his great character, had founded on him their liveliest hopes.

In the year 1814 a monument to the memory of Moreau was erected in the environs of Dresden, on the exact spot where he was mortally wounded.

The victory of Dresden would have been productive of very beneficial results to Napoleon if the French division of Vandamme had not been routed in the defiles of Töplitz in Bohemia, while another French division experienced severe checks in front of Berlin. The enemy immediately availed himself of these circumstances to unite his forces and to try to arrest Napoleon in his retreat to Leipzig. In order to counteract this design, Napoleon quitted Dresden on the 7th of October, leaving the Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr in the command of that important place.

Larrey accompanied Napoleon, having first completed all the arrangements necessary for the 6000 sick who were unable to follow the retreating army. He then occupied himself much with the re-organization of the ambulances. About the 15th of October, the day before the battle, he reached Leipzig. Two

days afterwards the battle of Leipzig was ushered in by a violent cannonade. The French army was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy. Moreover, much of it was composed of recruits who had come from Dresden, by forced marches, to the place of combat. The excessive fatigue of this march, and the long duration of the battle, were too much for their strength. Many conscripts also had arrived from France during the last few months. As it may almost be said that every man in France is naturally a soldier, it is very probable that these young conscripts were as brave as the veterans who had triumphed at Austerlitz and Eylau; but such was their youth, and such also was their inexperience, that it was impossible to rely on their capability to resist fatigue. However, they performed prodigies of valour, which seemed to promise success, until the 18th of October, when a large number of Bavarians and Saxons deserted the French and went over to the division of Bernadotte. On the same day the allies received considerable reinforcements, and san-

guine in the hope to crush Napoleon, they attacked his army with the whole weight of their numerous battalions. The French army had now concentrated its strength, but such was the disparity of numbers, that while the force of Napoleon did not exceed 125,000 men, that of the enemy amounted to 300,000. Under these circumstances victory was impossible, and even a safe retreat was doubtful.

About midnight on the 19th of October Napoleon began his retreat. Though Larrey was previously aware that the army would have to evacuate Leipzig, yet he was much concerned about the wounded, many of whom were not in a fit state for removal. Before the 18th of October, about 6500 men had been wounded in the battle of Leipzig. A large number of them were successfully treated by the French medical officers, under the enemy's fire. What nerve must it require to perform difficult operations within gunshot, and within easy or uneasy reach of the enemy's cannon! Among the generals who were seriously wounded were Latour-Maubourg and Camas.

The former was hit in the left knee by an iron ball, which broke the articulation and necessitated the amputation of the thigh. This amputation was performed without delay, and with good results. The latter, General Camas, had the muscles of the calf of the leg carried away by a bullet. The limb was preserved, and even without a vestige of lameness, through the *sang froid* and ability of the French medical officer, who, while ministering to the recovery of his patient, incurred the momentary danger of being hit by the enemy's bullets.

As the evacuation of Leipzig by the French army was now commencing, and the enemy, in far superior numbers, would soon be in pursuit, Larrey thought it advisable that most of those who could be removed should be sent to France while the communications were yet open. He arranged that those who were soon likely to recover should be transported in waggons along with the retreating army; while for those who could not be removed he saw no alternative but to have them lodged in spacious houses in Leipzig,

and intrusted to the humane and friendly spirit of its inhabitants. There was all the more ground to hope that the unfortunate men who were thus left behind would meet with care and attention, as Napoleon, in taking leave of his faithful ally the King of Saxony, had expressly recommended to him the wounded French soldiers.

The retreat of Napoleon's army was effected during the whole of the morning of the 20th of October, and at first in order. With equal promptitude and regularity a part of the French crossed the bridge of Leipzig. This bridge had been mined by Napoleon's directions in order to interrupt the pursuit of the enemy. Unfortunately, Colonel Mountfort, to whom was confided the work of destroying it at the right moment, intrusted this important operation to a corporal and four sappers. Long before the entire French army had crossed it, the corporal, seeing the enemy approach, set fire to the powder and blew up the bridge. Great was the joy of the allied sovereigns who were assembled in the Grand Place of Leipzig

at the time of the explosion. There, also, stood Bernadotte, in the midst of the dead, the wounded, and the prisoners of his own countrymen. The sound of that explosion, which was to prove disastrous to so many of his countrymen, could hardly have been a source of unmixed joy to the new King of Sweden. By this premature explosion the French were exposed to the fire of the allies. Marshal Macdonald saved himself by swimming, but Poniatowski was drowned in the river Pleiss. After this premature explosion of the bridge, not less than 15,000 men, including Generals Lauriston and Victor, were made prisoners of war.

Larrey, who had remained as long as possible in Leipzig, in order to make all the arrangements in his power for the wounded who were to be left behind, crossed the bridge only a short time before its destruction. A number of medical officers effected their passage simultaneously; but no sooner was this completed than they heard the sound of the explosion. Through this untoward event, a large quantity

of the requisites of the medical officers was left behind, and probably destroyed.

Though Napoleon had ordered the blowing up of the bridge at Leipzig in order to check the pursuit of his enemies, he no sooner reached Hanau than he discovered that 50,000 Bavarians and Austrians were in full march on Würzburg, in order to cut off his retreat. If Napoleon did not disperse them, he would probably soon be obliged to surrender at discretion. Fortunately, he triumphed over them, and captured some of the Bavarian artillery. However, the hours which followed this engagement were full of suffering to the French soldiers, especially the wounded. Without habitation, and almost without food, they bivouaced during that cold autumnal night. Larrey, while desiring to minister to the wants of others, was himself exposed to much hardship. The French medical officers were in want of almost all the requisites for the relief of the wounded. As there was no lint, many of the French surgeons cut up their own shirts as a substitute, and all of them

were fertile in expedients to alleviate pain and promote the recovery of health.

The French wounded, amid these trying circumstances, bore their sufferings with fortitude, and almost with indifference to pain. Many of them were recovering from amputation performed on the field of battle. Among those who had been wounded in this engagement with the Bavarians and Austrians, Larrey mentions especially the case of Robsomen, lieutenant of Chasseurs à pied de la Garde, as evincing the necessity of immediate amputation when all hope of saving a limb is lost. Part of young Robsomen's arm had been carried away by a bullet. Just afterwards Robsomen was struck by another bullet, which almost carried off the right leg, near the knee-joint. His father, a captain of Chasseurs, ran up to his son at the news of the first accident, and found him stretched almost breathless on the sand, and frightfully mutilated. The father, who was a true soldier, and a man of action, carried him on his shoulders to some of the surgeons, who, half enveloped in the smoke

of the enemy's guns, had just completed an urgent and indispensable operation. There he found Larrey along with some members of his staff. On examination of Robsomen's wound it was discovered that the chance of his life being preserved lay in the immediate amputation both of a leg and an arm. The wounded officer at once gave his consent to this twofold operation. While it was being performed, the father showed the most admirable calm, and the young patient uttered not a sound to indicate that feeling of severe pain which must have been caused by amputation both of leg and arm. Truly the men of that epoch, with whom Larrey mingled so much, must have been heroic.

Although many gave proofs of the most devoted attachment to the name and cause of Napoleon, and none more honourably and disinterestedly than Larrey, there were a few who began to waver in their regard for him when prosperity forsook him. Among these, one whom Napoleon had promoted to rank, honour, and even royalty, seemed determined on

quitting his cause as soon as the army reached Erfurt. Murat owed his kingdom of Naples to Napoleon. However, Fortune had changed sides, and accordingly Murat thought it excellent policy to follow her example by entering into some treaty with the allies for the preservation of that crown which was the gift of Napoleon. Before quitting Erfurt, he said to his chief that he had received pressing letters from Naples, acquainting him that matters there were in so critical a state that it was absolutely necessary for him to hasten there immediately, in order to defend his kingdom. He remarked, "I am not at present necessary to the Emperor, but I may be useful to him in Italy." About the 22nd of October Austria made propositions to him both in her own name and in that of England. The price of his defection was a promise on the part of those two Powers to preserve to him his kingdom. French writers assert that Murat never intended to betray Napoleon, but that he wished not to be dragged into ruin along with his brother-in-law. Although a *parvenu* king, he trusted to

make such arrangements with legitimist sovereigns as to be able to remain uncrushed amid the ruins of the Empire. Dupe of the illusions which gleamed around his throne, the French have considered him rather an object of pity than of blame. Yet, if Bernadotte could supplant the descendant of Gustavus Vasa on the throne of Sweden, why should not Murat hope to reign at Naples in the place of a family whose title to the crown of the Two Sicilies, if conquest be a title, was comparatively new, and whose government had been almost uniformly intolerant and cruel?

The French army quitted Erfurt on the 25th of October, then almost 80,000 strong, and reached Mayence on the 1st of November, having lost above 20,000 in the interval, such were the hardships with which it had to contend. Soon afterwards Larrey received orders to proceed to Metz. The number of sick was then immense. Hospitals for their accommodation had been, under Larrey's directions, opened at Mayence, and in numerous other places along the line of march, as far as Sarre-

bruck. Unfortunately, typhus broke out in these hospitals, and soon spread its ravages. In the church at Landstoul Larrey observed no less than twenty-five putrid corpses which the inhabitants would not bury. Perhaps the fear of contagion deterred them. Larrey, however, shrank not from this act of duty to the dead.

In every place where he found typhus Larrey issued the instructions best adapted to check its progress. In spite, however, of all precautions, the number of sick rapidly increased; for during the whole retreat from the banks of the Elbe to those of the Rhine, from Dresden to Mayence, such had been the harassing attacks of the enemy, and also such the want of rest, of food, of clothing, and of shelter, that the attenuated forms of the men became the ready prey to typhus and other diseases. The dead and the sick were too often mingled together. The air also was almost poisoned by the effluvia from the dead bodies. The French surgeons fearlessly imitated the example of their chief, and, not content with

ministering to the sick by soothing pain and prolonging life, they interred those who had died. As might be expected, many a French surgeon, while thus humanely engaged, caught the fever and died of it, thus affording numerous instances of that self-sacrifice to duty which seems a characteristic of the medical officers of armies.

CHAPTER XI.

CAMPAIGN OF FRANCE.

Battle of Montereau—Defection of some of Napoleon's generals — Indefatigable exertions of the medical officers in the Field Hospital at Craonney—Humane conduct of Larrey and the officers of his department to the Russian wounded in the hospital at Soissons—The French army at St. Dizier—Farewell address of Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and urgent request of Larrey to accompany him to Elba—Return of Napoleon from Elba—Disbelief of the generals of the Allied Army in the advance of Napoleon—Delay in the transmission of an important note from an officer in the British Intelligence Department—Battle of Waterloo—Larrey disobeys the order of "Sauve qui peut," and is taken prisoner by the Prussians—Dangerous situation of Larrey—He is set at liberty by Blucher—Gratitude of the Prussian Marshal to Larrey for having saved the life of his son in the campaign of Austria.

LARREY, on arriving at Metz, adopted various measures for the improvement of its hospitals.

He also saw a number of different operations performed there by the French surgeons. He then received an order to proceed to Paris, which he had no small pleasure in obeying, because there his wife and family resided. More than two eventful years had passed since he had seen them. He had quitted Paris in February, 1812. Napoleon's star was then in the ascendant. Germany was then almost prostrate at his feet. He had since entered Moscow as a conqueror; but he had afterwards lost near half a million of men. Now Germany, instead of being prostrate, had risen up against France. How many bright and glorious, how many gloomy and disastrous scenes had Larrey, serving under Napoleon, witnessed since he last embraced his wife and children!

Larrey was permitted to enjoy the calm pleasures of home only a few weeks. The beginning of the year 1814 was dark and lowering. It seemed as if all Germany and part of Russia were ready to hurl themselves against France. Already 600,000 men, like

the first wave of invasion, were assembled near the French frontier. Napoleon evidently had not foreseen this invasion. The sudden nature of his downfall and the rapid succession of events, in the course of his retreat from Russia to Germany, and from Germany to France, had left him no time to prepare against this invasion. However, in this critical situation of his affairs, the Emperor wanted neither courage nor activity. On the contrary, he made extraordinary exertions to surmount the difficulties and dangers by which he was environed.

Larrey was ordered to join the head-quarters of the army at Chalons, where he arrived on the 25th of January, almost simultaneously with Napoleon. At this time 50,000 men, headed by Blucher, were approaching Joinville and Dizier-sur-la-Marne, while another army of the allies, amounting to 250,000 men, was advancing upon Chaumont. The Emperor, who had only 60,000 men under his command, determined to attack Blucher before he should be able to effect a

junction with any of the armies of the allies. He overtook Blucher near Brienne, about the 30th of the month, and, after driving the Prussians from it, took up his lodging at the ancient château. While there he said to Larrey, "In the days of my youth I was at the military school of Brienne, and to-day I am attacked almost by all Europe. How great have been my vicissitudes since I attended school here!"

The prosperity of the Emperor was indeed greatly diminished at this time; but not his military reputation. On the contrary, the battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Château Thierry, which followed the affair at Brienne, rather sufficed to give additional lustre to his renown. The medical officers also under Larrey displayed great activity throughout this campaign. According to their custom, their first care was ever given to those who were most seriously wounded, without distinction of rank or age. One of the medical staff, Dr. Tanchou, wounded at Montmirail, was carried in an ambulance to the place where

Larrey was standing. The words of the latter, on seeing Dr. Tanchou, were, "Your wound is slight. We have here room and straw only for those who are severely wounded; we will, however, get you put into that stable."

After the victory at Château Thierry the French army directed itself rapidly towards Montereau, which place is distant only twenty leagues from Paris. At Montereau the Germans had taken up a formidable position. Napoleon's temper at that time was very irritable, and much embittered by the multitudes of enemies who, encouraged by his misfortunes, seemed gathering around in all directions. In a moment of irritability he deprived the eminent Marshal Victor of his command, and replaced him by Geraud, who also possessed great military talent. This officer captured a large part of the enemy's artillery, and did much harm to his infantry. The Germans were compelled to retreat; but so harassed were they by the batteries of the Guard under Duhesne and Digeon, and by the division of General Château, that their retreat was con-

fused and disorderly. Their loss was 3000 killed or wounded and about 3000 prisoners, together with six guns and five standards. The loss of the French was about 2000 men *hors de combat*, and in the list of those mortally wounded was the brave General Château, relative of Marshal Victor. Larrey has been heard to say that during the action Napoleon himself pointed the cannon like the young artillery officer he was many years before. The soldiers at Montereau murmured when they saw their chief thus exposing himself to danger. He replied, "Go, my friends, fear not; the bullet which may kill me is not yet cast."

The combat of Montereau was one of the most brilliant of this campaign, but it was indecisive. Napoleon was discontented with its results; he was also dissatisfied with many of his generals. Some of these had grown lukewarm in their attachment to Napoleon, believing that his power would soon end, and that another might rise on its ruins. These wished to pay court to prosperity, and to preserve

rank and wealth. Thus one of the generals had neglected a charge which might have proved fatal to the Bavarians, and another had abandoned to the Cossacks the forest of Fontainebleau. However, amid these signs of defection or of lukewarmness in the cause of Napoleon, when fortune began to frown upon him, Larrey's regard and attachment to his chief seemed to grow more deep and intense.

Napoleon counted about this time on Murat making an important diversion in his favour in Italy, such as might prevent the whole power of his enemies concentrating itself and bursting on France. By Napoleon's directions, Prince Eugène sent an aide-de-camp to Naples; but Murat had taken his part. On the news of this defection reaching him, Napoleon exclaimed, "Murat, my brother-in-law, treacherous! I knew well he had not a good head, but I did believe that he loved me. It is his wife who is the cause of his defection. Caroline, my sister, betray me! His army is united to that of Bellegarde. Murat ordering cannon-balls to be fired against the French!

It is abominable; it is odious. This is Bernadotte at mid-day. He has mystified my agents at Naples and Rome; but poor Miollis never doubted him. Murat become the man of the Austrians! He will lose himself. He could have played so fine a part. His army, united to that of the viceroy, acting in concert, would have been able to make a superb campaign. They were stronger than Bellegarde; their troops were better; a battle gained over the Austrians would have led them to the gates of Vienna. They would have saved France and Italy. To prefer to this fine part an alliance with the Austrians! The English!"

Napoleon uttered these complaints on Murat's defection in the presence of Larrey, who, though far humbler in rank than Murat, was greatly his superior in virtue. Napoleon, thus deprived in his hour of need of the aid of his brother-in-law, had to resist on French soil and near to the French capital the whole power of his enemies. It seemed impossible for him to resist so many thunderbolts of war launched almost simultaneously by

Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and Bavarians. His fate would probably resemble that of the oak of the forest which the lightning has blasted, or some large rock which has yielded to the earthquake. Yet Larrey, the member of a profession which pretends to nothing more than a zealous discharge of the duties of humanity, though it does aim at mental excellence, stood faithful, while marshals and generals and men of lower grade appeared as if they were anxious to escape from some falling tower. Meanwhile the French surgeons pursued their labours often within reach of the enemy's guns and in the vicinity of wild Cossacks. The following sentence so well expresses the situation of Larrey and of the medical officers generally about this time, that we give it here in the original: "Eloignés de tout secours, et environnés par les Cosaques, les docteurs Français furent à la fois médecins et soldats." In short, the dread of the long spears of the Cossack cavalry was no more felt by them than by Surgeon Thomson of Crimean celebrity.

About the 22nd of February the French had an affair with the Russians. All the French wounded, except General Gruyères, were healed on the field of battle. The general, who was injured in the right arm by a bullet, was sent to Paris, where he was placed under the care of Augustus Alexis Larrey, nephew of Baron Larrey. The recovery of General Gruyères from the wound was fortunately perfect.

About the 5th of March the French discerned the allies on the heights of Craonne. Their position was very strong, and on either side of them was a deep ravine, so that they could be attacked only in front. The French, however, who fought with the valour of desperation, drove them out of their position and pursued them as far as Filain. Yet the only important result of this conflict was a large number of killed and wounded on both sides.

The number of French wounded in this affair of Craonne was not less than 1200. The labours, consequently, of Larrey, and of

the French medical officers were arduous, but they were at the same time successful. Count Grouchy, General-in-Chief of Cavalry, received a very strong contusion in the right knee, occasioned by a ball which killed his horse. Count de Férière received a wound from a bullet, which carried away part of his foot. The foot was amputated by the French surgeons without delay and under fire. General the Count de Sparre had the right leg torn by a howitzer-shell. All these officers recovered. Numerous other instances of the success of French surgical skill amid so many difficulties could be adduced, if necessary.

About this time the Surgeon-in-Chief organized a field hospital in the village of Craonney. It was, however, little better than a farmhouse, and quite defenceless. In the yard was a large dunghill, on which were stretched 200 men mutilated by artillery. Thick flakes of snow were falling on them. There were several medical officers ministering to their wants. Some of these gentlemen took off their cloaks and coats and threw

them on their patients, in order to shelter them from the severity of the weather.

Although Larrey's presence was necessary with the army of Napoleon, which was then marching to attack the Russians at Laon, yet such was his compassionate nature, that he could not leave Craonney without making every provision in his power to aid his poor mutilated countrymen in the farmhouse of that place. He assembled all the neighbouring peasants, and besought them to furnish bread, meat, wine, and other articles for the wounded in the farmyard. He also left a certain number of medical officers behind, who not only exerted all the resources of able surgery in favour of the French wounded, but obtained many useful supplies from the neighbourhood. Thus many a brave soldier, instead of dying in the prime of manhood, was, through the kind and able treatment of the army medical officers, restored to family and friends, and in spite of that ingratitude which is too common, most of them lived for many years to bless the name of Larrey.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th of March there were combats between the army of Napoleon and the allies under Blucher, accompanied with heavy losses on both sides. The Emperor retreated on Soissons, and Larrey caused most of the wounded to be removed to that place. Here he classified them according to the nature of their injuries, but he caused all the Russian wounded to be placed in one building. Here all received the same vigilant care, for a mind so generous as that of Larrey naturally could admit of no distinction. Whether soldiers of France or enemies to France, though they might be lodged in different buildings, they all had equal claim to the best efforts of the military surgeons to preserve their lives and alleviate their sufferings.

Larrey rejoined the head-quarters of the French army a few days before the assault of Rheims, which occurred on the 13th of March, and which was entirely successful. Among the officers of rank who were wounded on the side of the French was the General Count de Ségur, who, at the head of the Gardes d'hon-

neur, with boldness and rapidity captured the batteries which protected the entrance of the town. The number of wounded on the side of the French did not altogether exceed 800 men, while the total loss of the allies amounted to 3500 men, of whom 2500 were taken prisoners. They left behind them 400 wounded in the hospitals under the charge of their own medical officers, who received some kind and useful aid from the members of Larrey's department.

Soon afterwards, Napoleon conducted his army to St. Dizier instead of going to Paris. His object may have been to obtain reinforcements from the frontier garrisons. However, in endeavouring to effect this object, he left the road to the French capital quite open to the enemy. The allies, taking advantage of this move of Napoleon, marched boldly towards Paris. As soon as Napoleon heard of it he altered his route, in order to follow the enemy; but on arriving at the banks of the Seine, he found the bridges destroyed, and was thus obliged to go to Sens and Pont-sur-Yonne.

About the 30th of March Napoleon entered Fontainebleau, where he heard of the capitulation of Paris and of the defection of Marmont. Larrey, who was alongside his chief when this news reached him, heard him exclaim, in words of bitterness, "Am I deserted by Marmont, with whom I have shared my bread—a man whom I have drawn out of obscurity—a man whose fortune and reputation I have made? What ingratitude! He will, however, be more wretched than myself!" It is but due to the memory of Marmont to state, that he did not give his adhesion to the cause of the Bourbons without a hopeless but glorious struggle against superior force in the neighbourhood of Paris.

The case of the Emperor was now desperate. Adversity does not make friends, nor even retain them. Accordingly, in the month of April, crowds who only a few weeks before had sworn to die for the cause of their august Emperor, now loaded him with execration and protested their readiness to spill the last drop of their blood for the august family of the

Bourbons. As might be expected, such is human nature, those whom Napoleon had most exalted were the foremost to desert him. However, amid so much baseness there did occur some bright instances of self-devotion. Among officers of high degree thus honourably distinguished were Davoust and Macdonald; among those inferior in rank but not in virtue, were Larrey and the officers of his department. The army, also, though deserted by so many of its chiefs and subdued by the presence of several foreign armies, still preserved its dignity, and also its fidelity to those colours which it had so repeatedly moistened with its blood, and under which it had acquired so much of imperishable glory.

Larrey remained with the Emperor at Fontainebleau till the 20th of April, on which day Napoleon set out for Elba. It was on that day that Larrey repeated earnestly the desire already expressed by him to his chief to be allowed to accompany him in his exile. Napoleon's answer was, "Larrey, you belong to the army, you ought to follow it; yet it is

with deep regret that I separate myself from you." About half an hour afterwards he addressed 1200 of his Old Guard, who were drawn up nearly in the form of a circle, and who listened with the deepest attention to the accents of a man whom they almost idolized, but whom they thought they might never see again. At the close of an impressive address Napoleon said, "Adieu, my children. Would that I could press you all to my heart; let me at least embrace your flag."

At this moment General Petit, seizing the Eagle, advanced. Napoleon clasped it, and the soldiers burst into sobs. Napoleon then addressed a few more words to them. Larrey and others, in the warmth of their devotion, then pressed close upon him. He embraced them with tenderness, threw himself into his carriage, and drove off; while the air resounded with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*.

Larrey now resumed his duties at the Council of Health of the Army and at the Military Hospital of the Gros Caillou, which duties were of a more quiet kind than those of In-

spector of Hospitals and of Surgeon-in-Chief. His bodily health needed care. The campaigns of Russia and of Saxony, which have rarely been surpassed in hardship, had shaken his robust constitution. His bodily health was soon restored, but there was about him a melancholy, together with almost an illness of mind, which he could not shake off so easily. The object both of his esteem and love, that Emperor whom he had served so long and so faithfully, was banished to Elba. Larrey appeared overcome by the desire to join him in his exile.

Almost simultaneous with the banishment of Napoleon to Elba, was the restoration of the Pope to Rome. On the 24th of May, 1814, the infallible Head of the Church made his public entry into the Eternal City. On the 12th of June the Austrians issued a proclamation annexing the Venetian State to the Empire of Austria, "under the sceptre of the august Emperor and King Francis, Father adored by his subjects, Sovereign much beloved by those States which had the happiness to

form part of his Empire." So ran the words of the proclamation at least. These were the bitter fruits of Bourbon restoration. Larrey, who was no bigoted papist nor advocate of the divine right of kings, bewailed the evil days of the year 1814. About forty-four years later, Larrey's talented son became medical chief in an army which rescued Lombardy and several other fair provinces of Italy from the grasp of the foreigner. While the Pope and the Bourbons were being restored, and the time-honoured Republic of Venice was being sold, Larrey and others still nourished a hope of again seeing their beloved chief. In the year 1815 their wishes were destined to be gratified. As is well known, Napoleon quitted his place of exile on the 25th of February, disembarked on French soil on the 1st of March, and arrived in Paris about the 20th of the same month. It was not till the morning of that day that the people of Paris became aware of the flight of the Bourbons. Many of the public functionaries had deserted their posts without saying anything, while others had

remained in Paris without knowing what to do. About twelve o'clock the Lieutenant-General of Volunteers, Forbin-Janson, went to the Tuileries for the purpose of receiving the commands of his royal master; but Louis XVIII. was not there. It was not very remarkable he should go there, for the white flag still floated on the walls of the Tuileries. In the forenoon there were cries of *Vive le Roi*, and in the afternoon of *Vive l'Empereur*. About nine o'clock in the evening the Emperor arrived, almost without escort. On alighting from his carriage he was surrounded by a joyful multitude, and he was carried triumphantly by the people into those apartments which had lately been the abode of royalty.

Napoleon summoned Larrey to the Tuileries, and gave him strong proofs of his esteem and regard, or rather affection. He expressed to Larrey his regret at having left him without wealth, and promised to seize an early opportunity of rewarding him for those services which, at so much self-sacrifice, he had rendered to the wounded.

Larrey, whose bodily health was somewhat impaired, undertook, at the suggestion of General Drouet, the direction of the ambulances in the campaign which was about to commence. At the close of May, Austria was meditating the transport of 100,000 men from Italy to the borders of the Rhine, Prussia was then ready to furnish 250,000 men, and Russia 230,000; while England also was making immense efforts to meet the coming struggle; and Wellington, who was at the head of the army, was anxious to reassemble his former staff, as may be seen by reference to his Despatches. Accordingly he had, on the 29th of April, written to Sir Henry Torrens, mentioning his wish that Sir James McGrigor's brother-in-law, Colonel Grant, of the 11th Regiment, should come out, and also his intention of employing him at the head of the Intelligence Department. This seemed the more necessary, as Napoleon's best chance of overcoming armies so greatly superior to his own was by bringing the whole force of his own army against disunited portions of his enemy. Many of

Napoleon's most brilliant and most successful victories had arisen from this species of tactics.

About the 7th of June Larrey joined the French Army in his situation of medical chief, and about the 14th the whole of that army had reached the frontier of France. Up to that moment, Wellington and Blucher, who were tolerably well informed of the numerical strength of the French army, indulged a very natural belief that Napoleon would not be so rash as to attack on hostile ground two armies, each of which was almost equal to his own. On the 15th of June the French army began to cross the frontier. Although the most rigorous measures had been adopted by the French to prevent, if possible, any information crossing their frontier, yet Colonel Colquhoun Grant contrived on that day, the 15th of June, to forward a note containing information that Napoleon was hastening to attack the armies of Wellington. On this note reaching the English lines, General Dornberg, instead of forwarding it, sent it back with some written

expression of his own disbelief in Napoleon's advance. Three days were thus lost in the transmission of this important note, which at length was opened by the Duke of Wellington in the presence of the military historian Napier, a few hours before the battle of Waterloo. In consequence of this delay the battle of Waterloo and the actions of Fleurus and Quatre Bas were fought by the French against the divided armies of English and Prussians.*

* I have seen the letter, which was noted thus by the Duke of Wellington, "Received from Grant, June the 18th, eleven o'clock,"—that is to say, just as the battle of Waterloo was commencing. Had it been received as it ought to have been, no surprise of the allies would have happened, and the great battle would have been fought and won on the banks of the Sambre. Why was this important notice withheld from the duke? Grant was too far in advance of the British outposts to be near his agents. Other agents were employed by the duke in various directions; and to insure the regular transmission of their reports, General Dornberg was placed at Condé, I think, as an intermediate authority. That general mistook his position, and fancied he was to judge of the importance and value of the reports. Hence, on receiving Grant's letter, he sent it back, saying that, so far from convincing him that Napoleon was advancing for battle, it assured him of the contrary. Grant instantly conveyed

Larrey was present at the small affair at Fleurus on the 16th of June, and afterwards at the great battle of Waterloo. As the French account of this last battle is not very translatable and would be very incredible in England, it is here given in the original French. "L'armée Française, triomphante des Anglais pendant toute la journée, est vaincue le soir par Blücher et trente mille Prussiens." Larrey's conduct throughout the whole of that eventful day towards the wounded was most zealous and humane. His efforts, however, were rendered most difficult by the charges of the enemy's cavalry, which almost scoured the country. At length, when the sun set on the field of Waterloo, and on the fortunes of the great Napoleon, Larrey was enjoined to

his letter direct to the duke; but it only reached him on the field of Waterloo, too late to be useful, but furnishing a convincing proof of Grant's great talents; for never was intelligence more important, more exact, or more complete, procured for a general in such grave circumstances.—*Extract of a Letter from Lieut.-General Sir William Napier to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge*, dated Sept. 1st, 1857.

obey the order, *sauve qui peut;* but this order was not in unison with the humane feelings of the medical officers.

The pursuit, commenced by Blucher's 30,000 fresh troops at the close of the day, was sweeping and rapid, merciless and sanguinary. It swept before it the remains of the French army as forcibly as the angry wave of the ocean dashes against the wreck of some noble vessel. Night came, and Larrey was far away from his countrymen, except some medical officers and also French soldiers who lay weltering on the field of Waterloo. He was wandering about with some French surgeons when suddenly they were overtaken by a squadron of Prussian Lancers. Larrey, who expected no quarter from Prussians, discharged his pistols at them and galloped away, hoping that the darkness of the night would enable him to elude pursuit. The enemy discharged their carbines, wounding the horse of Larrey, which upset the rider. As Larrey was lying on the ground he received two sabre-cuts, which rendered him insensible. The Prussians,

who believed him dead, then left him, and galloped off after fresh victims.

As soon as Larrey recovered his senses, and perceived that the enemy had gone away, he endeavoured, though in pain, to make his escape into French soil by some cross paths. Unfortunately, upon arriving at the banks of the Sambre, he met another detachment of Prussian cavalry, and was then taken prisoner. They not only deprived him of his arms, but even robbed him of his watch, his ring, and part of his clothes. Nor did they stop with these indignities, but they led him before a superior officer, who sentenced him to be shot. Thus the good and charitable Larrey, who during so many campaigns had never recognised any distinction between friend and foe where the rights of humanity were involved, and who had so often devoted his mental and physical energies to the preservation of the lives of the sick and wounded, although those sick and wounded might be the enemies of France and his own beloved Emperor, seemed doomed to death the day after the battle of

Waterloo. Yet at that critical moment the memory of his good and able deeds stepped in between Baron Larrey and an untimely death. A surgeon-major, about a quarter of an hour before the moment at which the sentence was to be executed against Napoleon's medical chief, recognised the lecturer at Berlin in the person of Larrey. This Prussian doctor had attended with deep interest and much advantage those lectures which Larrey had delivered in the Prussian capital about six years previously, and he now succeeded in obtaining a reprieve for the accomplished medical officer of Napoleon's army. Larrey was conducted before Bulow, Grand Prévôt of the Allied Armies, and finally presented to Field-Marshal Blucher. That introduction was, indeed, all the more fortunate, because in the campaign of Austria the son of the marshal had been badly wounded, and had fallen into the hands of the French, on which occasion his life had been saved through the exertions of Larrey. So, in grateful recollection of his Samaritan benevolence, Blucher not only cancelled the

sentence of death against Larrey, but granted him an escort to Brussels. Here the wounds of Larrey were healed. Yet while only convalescent, this worthy member of a profession which, in its blended stoicism and sensibility, in its fortitude and humanity, is inferior to no other, passed much of his time in the hospitals, suggesting measures for the relief of the large number of wounded men who had been carried to Brussels from the field of Waterloo.

Larrey was obliged by the Allied Powers to leave Brussels for Paris, where he arrived on the 15th of August, 1815. His wife and family, who had been in great anxiety about him, fearing that he was dead, experienced much joy in seeing him again. Domestic happiness still remained to him, but outside the circle of his home all seemed dreary. The enemies of his great chief were now firmly established; but these enemies respected the great and good qualities of Larrey, and gave signs of their respect by offering him employment both honourable and lucrative. Among those who paid this tribute to his worth was

the Emperor Alexander, who offered him a high medical position in the Russian armies. He refused all tempting offers from foreign powers at that time, so great was his desire to devote himself to disinterested acts of charity on French soil, even under the somewhat unfriendly and discouraging rule of a Bourbon.

CHAPTER XII.

LARREY UNDER THE RESTORATION, AND UNDER THE REIGN OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

Journey of Larrey to England—Conduct of Larrey during the three days of July, 1830—He is despatched by the French Minister of War to Belgium and to Italy —Return of the ashes of Napoleon, and Larrey's tribute of respect to the memory of his great chief.

LARREY required no small amount of fortitude to support him amid the trials to which he was exposed in the earlier years of the Restoration. Among these may be mentioned the loss of his rank as Inspector-General of Hospitals, and the loss of the pension of 3000 francs which had been granted to him by Napoleon on the field of Lutzen. He was also afflicted in private life by the deaths of his mother and his brother.

However, Larrey's intrinsic merits were so great and so well known by men of all parties, that the entire withdrawal both of his pension and his professional rank could not long continue. Accordingly, in the year 1818, the pension was restored to him, and about three years later the title of Surgeon of the Royal Guard was bestowed on him by Louis XVIII. But the value of this act of royalty seemed lost in the gloom which was produced in Larrey's mind on the 5th of May, 1821, when the news arrived in Paris of the death of Napoleon. The death of his beloved and esteemed benefactor far away on a solitary rock in the ocean, after having attained a pinnacle of glory, filled the heart of Larrey with sorrow, which made him almost heedless of his own interests and indifferent to royal favour. At length he sought an alleviation to his grief in the active application of his mind to the duties of his profession, along with some literary works.

He was about this time collecting documents in order to write a great work on surgery. Before its termination he was anxious

to know the progress which had been made in this science in England, and he embarked for that country about the 18th of August, 1826. He was accompanied by his son, who has since filled, under the reign of the third Napoleon, the place of his distinguished father. The medical men of Great Britain seemed to vie with one another in showing how much they appreciated both the talents and the moral character of Larrey. He enlarged the number of his acquaintances in England, all the more because his good qualities were quite unalloyed by professional jealousy or any petty feeling. Surgery, as may be conceived, was not so advanced in 1826 as in 1861; but though Cooper, Guthrie, and other celebrated men of those days could not boast the acquirements of Brodie, Fergusson, Wyatt, and other men who have since built on the experience of their predecessors, yet they were probably unsurpassed by their successors in that originality of mind which borders on genius. With most of the professional men of any note in the Metropolis in 1826, Larrey formed an acquain-

tance bordering on intimacy. He also devoted much time to visiting the hospitals of Britain. Thus he gained a store of information. On his return to Paris he drew up and addressed to the Minister of War a report, in which he made known the result of his journey. He also presented to the Academy of Sciences a memoir containing disquisitions on a number of clinical questions. This memoir gained him so much credit with that body, that in the year 1829 he was named member of it on the death of M. Pelletan. About the same time he was elected a member of numerous institutions in foreign countries.

Larrey was in Paris at the time of the Revolution in the year 1830. During the three glorious days, as they are called, of the month of July, he attended the hospital of Gros Caillou, to which place the wounded men of the Royal Guard were carried. On the third and last of these days a formidable number of armed men, against whom the Royal Guard had been fighting, presented themselves at the gate and wished to enter the hospital by force.

Larrey soon showed himself to this armed body, and called out, "What are your designs? Why do you dare menace this place? Do you know that the sick and wounded here belong to me, that it is my duty to defend them, and that it is also your duty to respect the unfortunate?" Such was Larrey's conduct in protecting the wounded from the fury of their enemies. Yet what was the armed populace to that intrepid man who had regarded with *sang froid* batteries, whether Russian or Austrian, when breathing destruction at Eylau, Wagram, and Moskowa? How often had Larrey, non-combatant as he was, shown himself brave without the aid of excitement! He had long since defended his patients successfully against the insurgent populace of Madrid, and he now performed that duty amid the bloody strife of the three days of July in Paris more easily, because the efforts of his courage among his own countrymen were seconded by the well-known spotlessness of his character and the renown of his services.

The Government of July recalled Baron

Larrey to the Council of Health of the French Armies. Soon afterwards he was despatched by the Government to Belgium, where he organized the ambulances of the Belgian army. He returned afterwards to Paris loaded with most flattering but just testimonies of esteem on the part of the king, Leopold. After his return, he employed such intervals of leisure as his administrative and professional duties allowed him in reducing a vast mass of notes and documents to order with the view to publication.

About this time Larrey was appointed Surgeon-in-Chief of the Hôtel des Invalides. There Larrey experienced a kind of melancholy pleasure in finding himself in the midst of the men of the Republic and of the Empire. Many of these men had been severely wounded in the fields of battle of Italy, Germany, or Russia, and many of them would have died of their wounds had it not been for the able and tender care of Larrey and the officers of his department. They all esteemed Larrey, and many of them were grateful to him for past kindness.

Moreover, they all shared his sympathy for the fallen greatness of Napoleon, and his sorrow for the death of the Emperor on a sea-girt rock many thousand miles away.

Larrey's habits had always been characterized by great activity. When appointed surgeon of the Hôtel des Invalides he might be said to have passed the meridian of life, and although his bodily strength was, perhaps, somewhat impaired by the numerous hardships which he had undergone, yet he appeared to have lost none of his mental energy. He seemed one of those good and great men who, having received abundance of gifts or talents from the Higher Power, are determined to exert their gifts or talents to the utmost for the welfare of their fellow-creatures. Accordingly he rose at three o'clock in the morning, when he commenced writing his scientific memoirs. At six o'clock he went to the hospital, where he visited the sick. Afterwards he delivered his clinical lectures; and when they were finished, he still laboured to augment the knowledge of his pupils. Before

coming away from the hospital he lingered occasionally among the veterans of Napoleon, the men of Castiglione and of Rivoli, of Austerlitz and of Eylau, of Smolensk and of Moskowa, talking with them about the events of bygone days.

In 1834 he received authority from the Minister of War to proceed to Italy. He departed with his son on the 2nd of September, and went at first to Bagnères-de-Bigorre and to Beaudéan, where he had the happiness to meet again the Abbé Grasset, the first master of his youthful days. At Toulouse he visited the general hospital of La Grave, at which place he had commenced his medical studies. He afterwards repaired to Montpelier, to Nismes, and finally to Leghorn, where he embarked for Civita Vecchia. As soon as he arrived at Rome, Baron Larrey went to visit Cardinal Fesch, uncle to the Emperor Napoleon, and Madame Lætitia. The venerable princess was eighty-eight years old, and blind, but on hearing that Baron Larrey was in the room she thought she re-

cognised his voice, and she stretched out her arms to embrace him. Learning that he was accompanied by his son, she exclaimed, "Approach, my child, approach, that I may embrace you."

On quitting Rome, Baron Larrey proceeded to Florence, where he presented his homage to the Prince Louis Napoleon, ex-King of Holland, and to his sister, the Princess Caroline (Murat), as well as to the ex-Queen of Spain (Countess de Survilliers), and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte. He received from these august personages proofs of regard. Baron Larrey quitted Florence in order to go to Leghorn, and from thence to France by Marseilles, Toulon, Aix, and Avignon. He found in this last town, at the Hôtel des Invalides, some aged grenadiers of the Old Guard, who were very happy to see him again. A few days afterwards Baron Larrey reached Paris, where he resumed his accustomed labours at the Hôtel des Invalides, at the Council of Health, and at the Institute.

In 1835 the cholera committed great ravages

in the South of France. In order to check the progress of that disease, the Minister of War ordered Baron Larrey to visit immediately those towns where its violence was greatest. Accordingly the Baron left Paris on the 21st of July, 1835, with one of his pupils. On the 25th of that month he reached Marseilles, where he tranquillized the fears of the people, and also pointed out to them the right manner to combat the evil in its earlier stages. He afforded an example of the way to manage those who were attacked with the disease, and dissipated the fear of contagion by making with his own hands an autopsy of the subjects which had succumbed to the disease. The epidemic having diminished at Marseilles, Larrey repaired to Aix, Avignon, Arles, Beaucaire, Nismes, Montpelier, Beziers, Castelnaudary, and Toulouse. Throughout this professional tour Larrey visited the hospitals and the barracks, giving often both counsel and consolation. He returned to Paris about the 1st of September. He forwarded to the Minister of War a detailed report on the

reigning epidemic, which he regarded as having been caused by the clouds of animalcules brought from the East Indies by the atmospheric currents.

Baron Larrey hoped to terminate his life in the midst of those 4000 soldiers of the Hôtel des Invalides, who recognised in him one of the most faithful friends of their Emperor. Some disagreement, however, occurred between him and the government, in consequence of which the great surgeon withdrew. The cause is not assigned, and the reader may be left to suppose that Larrey cherished the memory of his benefactor and his chief more sincerely than was consistent with his self-interest. His house in Paris abounded with statues of Napoleon, of various sizes, in bronze, ivory, and marble, and with other demonstrations of regard, during that course of years in which the restoration of the Napoleon dynasty seemed of all events the most improbable. In short, Baron Larrey was true to everything except his own interest.

At length the ashes of Napoleon arrived

from St. Helena. The 15th of December, 1840, was the day appointed to do honour to those mortal remains. Notwithstanding the severity of the cold, Baron Larrey, who was near seventy years of age, attended those remains the whole way from Courbevoie to the gate of the Hôtel of the Invalides. Even the courtiers of Louis Philippe beheld with interest the old surgeon of the Grand Army, clad in his uniform of the Imperial Guard, bent with age, and with melancholy souvenirs, walking with head uncovered, though the snow fell heavily, close to the funeral *cortège*. To him that cold wintry day was a day of the deepest interest, and at the close of it he said to a friend, "Never has my heart, which, though I am old, is not hardened, been more agitated by my souvenirs."

CHAPTER XIII.

LARREY'S INSPECTION OF THE HOSPITALS IN ALGERIA.

Arrival in Algeria—Inspection of the hospitals of Algiers, Oran, Philippeville, and Constantine—Disembarkation at Toulon of Larrey with inflammation of the chest—His death at Lyons—His funeral obsequies—His literary works—Engraving of the name of Larrey on the Arc-de-Triomphe—Statue in bronze raised to his memory—Legacy of Napoleon, and his final judgment on the merits of his Surgeon-in-Chief, Baron Larrey.

LARREY had become old in years, but he was still young in spirit and ardent in his desire to serve his country. Accordingly, in 1841 he solicited of the Minister of War the fatiguing and dangerous mission of inspecting the military hospitals in Algeria. He was also stirred by the desire to place his foot on that soil of Africa which recalled to mind the days of his youthful career, and revealed to his mind's eye,

almost with the enchantment of a mirage, that hero who had conquered, even to the foot of the Pyramids. Larrey, whose natural intelligence and vast experience were well known, easily got official sanction to his wishes. It was far more for the interest of the government than for his own interest, that he should take this employment of Inspector of Hospitals. It was, indeed, almost beyond his bodily strength, especially as he would arrive in Africa at a season when marshy fevers prevailed, and also when the heat was excessive. In Paris were his devoted friends, his attached family, and his quiet home; in Algeria were the warring battalions of France, hostile Arabs, and malignant fevers. Larrey, however, was old, and therefore this last journey in the cause of humanity was an act worthy both to crown his long career of usefulness and also to sustain the dignity of that honourable and learned profession to which he belonged.

Leaving Paris on the 15th of May, 1842, he arrived at Algiers about the 23rd of the same month, thus wasting no time on his journey. He was accompanied by his son,

Hippolyte Larrey, who obtained leave of absence from the hospital of Val-de-Grâce, where he was Professor. The venerable Baron Larrey, notwithstanding the great heat, immediately commenced inspecting the hospitals first on the sea-shore and afterwards in the interior. Those of Algiers, Oran, Philippeville, and Constantine, particularly attracted his notice. He therefore took pains to collect all the documents regarding them which might be useful for his report to the Minister of War. In the course of his tour, both along the coast, and also in the interior, Larrey was received with the respect and admiration which unswerving integrity joined to well used talents seldom fails to inspire.

The physical exertions, the mental labours, and the continued excitement during this medical inspection so rapidly accomplished, exhausted the strength of Larrey. On the 5th of July he embarked for France, hoping soon to reach Paris and complete his report; but he never reached home. He disembarked at Toulon in bad health, suffering much pain, but happy, nevertheless, to have accomplished

his mission. His chief disease was inflammation of the chest, the result, doubtless, of almost incessant fatigue during the previous two months. Rest and care were recommended. Larrey, however, disregarded such advice, and anxious to see his wife, continued his journey. In vain did Gourand, the illustrious surgeon, exhort him to travel slowly, and his fond son entreat him to remain at Avignon. Larrey, who had collected valuable information in Algeria, hurried onward, trusting soon to reach Paris, and then complete his report to the Minister of War; but he lived only to reach Lyons. There he was made aware of his own hopeless state, and also of the extreme illness of his devoted wife. From this beloved partner of his youth, for long and happy had been their union, a sense of professional honour and of duty had lately torn him away, and great was now his anxiety to see her after the completion of his labours amid the hospitals of Algeria. It was, however, ordered otherwise, for the brave and accomplished surgeon expired at Lyons on the 24th of July, less than three weeks after

his embarkation from African soil. By his death on the 24th of July, Baron Larrey was thus in ignorance of the contents of a letter which had been sent from Paris to Lyons on the same day, announcing that the spirit of his fond wife had left this world.

Thus died Baron Larrey. Yet he has left to the army of France a worthy successor in the person of his son, Doctor Hippolyte Larrey. By his love of humanity, by his absolute devotion to the French army, and by his vast knowledge of surgery, the present Baron Larrey shows how much he inherits the paternal virtues. During the war of Italy in 1859, he was appointed Surgeon-in-Chief of the French army. While holding this appointment he had a horse shot under him at the battle of Solferino, where the victory obtained by the French and Sardinians over Austria decided the independence of several Italian States. He has been elected Professor to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, and Member of the Academy of Medicine, Surgeon-in-Chief of the Hospital of Val-de-Grâce, and Member of the Council of Health.

Baron Larrey's remains were carried to Paris, which he had left only two months before for Africa almost with the ardour of youth, but not until some funeral obsequies had first taken place at Lyons. Among those who did honour in that city to his memory on the 27th of July, were the members of the Academy of Sciences, all the members of the Medical Society, all the municipal authorities, many military men, especially all the old soldiers of the Empire who were then residing at Lyons, and a large concourse of people besides. The four corners of the pall were held by a general officer, by the chief Surgeon of the Military Hospital of Lyons, by the President of the Medical Society of that city, and by the oldest of its physicians. The body of Larrey, which had been embalmed, was carried by soldiers of artillery, and was accompanied by a battalion of infantry.

Soon afterwards the funeral of Baron Larrey took place at Paris, in the presence of a respectful multitude. Several appropriate discourses were pronounced by men of celebrity. The common object of these orations was ap-

parently to describe the character of a man who was the type of a military surgeon. The medical officer ought to be a man of mingled humanity and courage. Such indeed was Larrey. For the purpose of healing the sick he was repeatedly present in contagious hospitals, he sometimes attended Lazarettos, nor did he, when the safety of others required it, shrink from removing putrid corpses when contact seemed deadly. It might have been expected that one who had seen so much of human suffering, especially amid the hardships of the retreat from Moscow, would have been so far accustomed to it as to look on it with callous indifference. It was not so, however, with Larrey, for so unblunted was his sensibility that he was unable to refrain from tears at the sight of misery which it was not in his power to alleviate.

It could hardly be expected that during a career so active Larrey could find time for literary exertion. Yet, fortunately, he did find opportunity to commit to books the results of his own varied experience and also the treasures of his learning. The celebrated surgeon

in civil life, Dupuytren, has impartially remarked that the works of Larrey form a bond of union between the surgery of the last ages and that of the present day. These works are indeed voluminous, but they are useful in unfolding to the reader a large number of those successful measures which Larrey adopted with the wounded amid situations of difficulty. Larrey has related in these works what he has seen and what he has done, and he has compared the results of his own efforts with those of his predecessors. The diminution of misery and the relief of pain were among the chief objects of Napoleon's Surgeon-in-Chief, and it is to be hoped that in the works which Larrey has left behind him there may be found an antidote to those miseries which appear inseparable from war.

Although these works, on which Larrey has abundantly poured the fruits of the experience gathered by him during a long and wide range of service, might well serve to perpetuate his name, his countrymen were resolved to show their own appreciation of his merits. Accordingly, not long after his death, they caused his

name to be engraved on the stone of the Arc-de-Triomphe with that of the illustrious warriors of the Republic and of the Empire. On the south-east pilaster of the south vault will remain as long as time permits, the honoured name of Larrey.

Another and even more conspicuous tribute to his memory was paid by his admiring countrymen in the Court of Honour of the Military Hospital of the Val-de-Grâce at Paris. Here was erected a statue of the distinguished Surgeon-in-Chief. The statue, which is in bronze, represents Larrey in his uniform of military surgeon, wrapped in his cloak and with his head uncovered. He presses to his heart a manuscript. It is the will of the Great Napoleon. Near to Larrey are deposited his books, his instruments, and his arms; while on a piece of cannon near him are inscribed the names of the principal battles at which he was present. In bassi relievi, on the four sides of the pedestal, are traced four of the most glorious episodes in the life of Larrey. They are, The Pyramids, Austerlitz, Soumma Sierra, and the passage of the Bérézina.

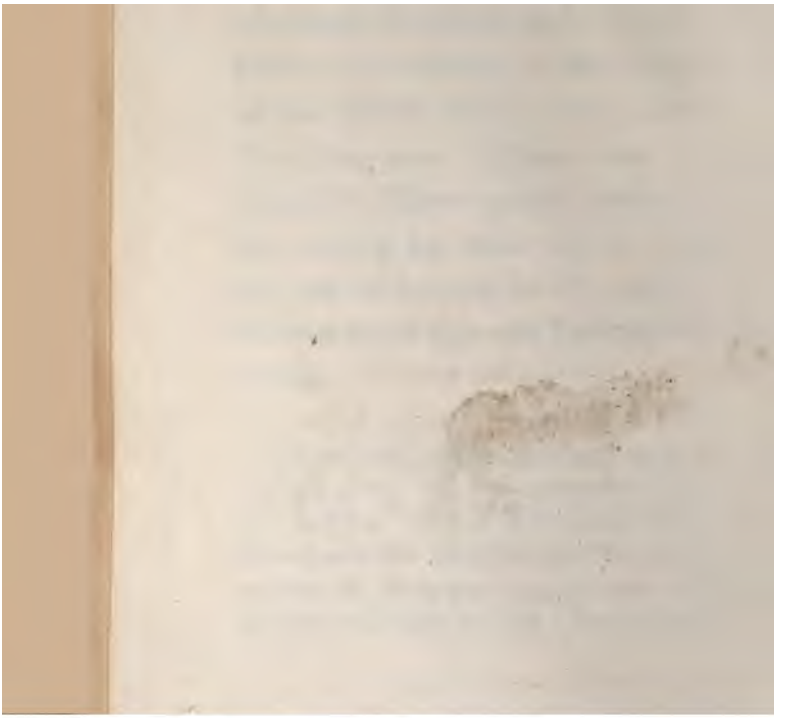
This statue of Larrey was produced by the chisel of David. The inauguration of it took place on the 8th of August, 1850, in presence of M. Dupin, President of the National Assembly, and of a considerable union of the representatives of the people, of savants, of military men, and others.

Napoleon, during his exile in St. Helena, frequently spoke of his Surgeon-in-Chief. The biography of the latter would be indeed imperfect without a record of some of those expressions. The following words, extracted from the "Memorial of St. Helena," by Las Cases, were uttered by Napoleon on the 23rd of October, 1816:—"What a man, what a brave and worthy man is Larrey! What care was given by him to the army in Egypt and everywhere! I have conceived for him the highest esteem. If the army were to raise a column to the memory of any one, it should be to that of Larrey. He has left in my mind the idea of a truly honest man. He is truly a worthy man, for to science he unites all the virtue of an effective philanthropist. All the wounded are of his family. The chief object of his consideration has been

to exert himself in his hospital, in which he has been so successful as to entitle him to both my esteem and my gratitude." Not long afterwards Napoleon made his will and wrote in it:—"I bequeath to the Surgeon-in-Chief of the French army, Larrey, 100,000 francs. He is the most virtuous man I have ever known."* These praises bestowed by Napoleon during his exile may be regarded as a just act of homage to the spotless integrity, the vast knowledge, and the tender humanity of Larrey.

* These words written by Napoleon on the subject of Larrey's merits will bear comparison with those which the illustrious Duke of Wellington applied to Sir James McGrigor in the despatch of the 26th of July, 1814:—"I consider Mr. McGrigor one of the most able, industrious, and successful public servants I have ever met with."

THE END.



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